DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 033 816 RC 003 845

AUTHOR	Erdman, Joyce M.
TITLE	Handbook on Wisconsin Indians.
INSTITUTION	Governor's Commission on Human Rights, Madison, Wis.
Pub Date	66
Note	101p.
Available from	Governor's Commission on Human Rights, 1 West Wilson Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53702.
EDRS Price	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$5.15
Descriptors	*American Indians, *Economic Factors, *Educational Needs, *Federal Programs, Health Services, Housing Deficiencies, Organizations (Groups), Self Concept, *State Agencies, State Legislation, Welfare Problems
Identifiers	*Wisconsin

Abstract

Due to the changing status of Indians in Wisconsin, the 1966 handbook provides a new study of their present day situation. Leadership from among the Indians has generated new interest in Indian conditions. Although their economic position has not improved significantly, their psychological climate is now characterized by optimism. Questions of the identity of the Indians and their aspirations are discussed. History and present conditions of reservation tribes are presented by individual tribes. Working relationships between Wisconsin Indians and state and Federal agencies are identified. Some Wisconsin organizations working with Indians are listed and some of the more important Wisconsin statutes pertaining to Indians are reproduced. (JH)

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ED033816

Handbook
on
Wisconsin Indians

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Published with the cooperation of the
University of Wisconsin Extension

1966

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Governor's Commission on Human Rights

State of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

RC003845

Additional copies of this report are available from the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, 1 West Wilson Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53702.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 66-64334
10000—34

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Acknowledgments

This 1966 *Handbook* was made possible by the perceptive and generous aid of many people. The Bureau of Indian Affairs staff at the national and state offices was most helpful. Wisconsin officials in the various departments both in Madison and in the field went out of their way to provide every cooperation available. County personnel, especially the public welfare directors and county nurses, offered reasoned evaluations of current conditions.

The staff of the Governor's Commission was unstinting and constant in its help: to Mr. Alan J. Dale, Mrs. Dorothy M. Knutson and Mrs. Sandra E. Stull a genuine debt of gratitude is due. And without the earlier research endeavors of former staff members, Mrs. Lynn Hanisch and Miss Niki Smith, much of the essential groundwork would not have been laid. Particular appreciation is owed to the director of the Commission, Dr. G. Aubrey Young, whose deep conviction carries a practical dedication to stating the problem clearly and proceeding to solutions.

Overall, too many individuals participated in this project to list separately, but their expenditure of time and thought are sources of gratification to the Commission.

Finally, a bow is made to the Indians of Wisconsin, to the tribal chairmen and the young people, to the older chiefs and the emerging dynamic leaders. It is primarily due to their steadfast determination to bring themselves upward into the mainstream of American life, maintaining always their Indian identity, that the *Handbook* is now available.

Joyce M. Erdman
August, 1966

The cover is from a photograph by Conrad Reinhardt.

The State of Wisconsin

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
MADISON
53702

WARREN P. KNOWLES
GOVERNOR

FOREWORD

I welcome this opportunity of writing these introductory words to a significant publication on the Indians of Wisconsin.

A relatively small group among us, our Indian citizens are a vital, direct link with the history of this great land. Their residence here has been far longer than ours, their appreciation of the beauty and resources of this region is greater than ours, and as we seek to preserve our wild life and streams, our fields and forests, the Indians have much to teach us. Furthermore, with increasing educational and economic opportunities, the Indians are taking an ever more important part in our common life. They live and work in our cities as well as our rural regions, but by maintaining their ancient love of the land, their kinship with the natural world, they remind us of values we tend to lose in the fast pace of modern life.

I commend the Governor's Commission on Human Rights (which includes three Indians among its members) for its contribution in making this publication available, as well as for its concern in coordinating the efforts of government and private agencies in behalf of our Indian citizens.

I am sure that this book will be welcomed and eagerly read, as together Indians and non-Indians move into a new era of cooperation and progress.

Warren P. Knowles, Governor

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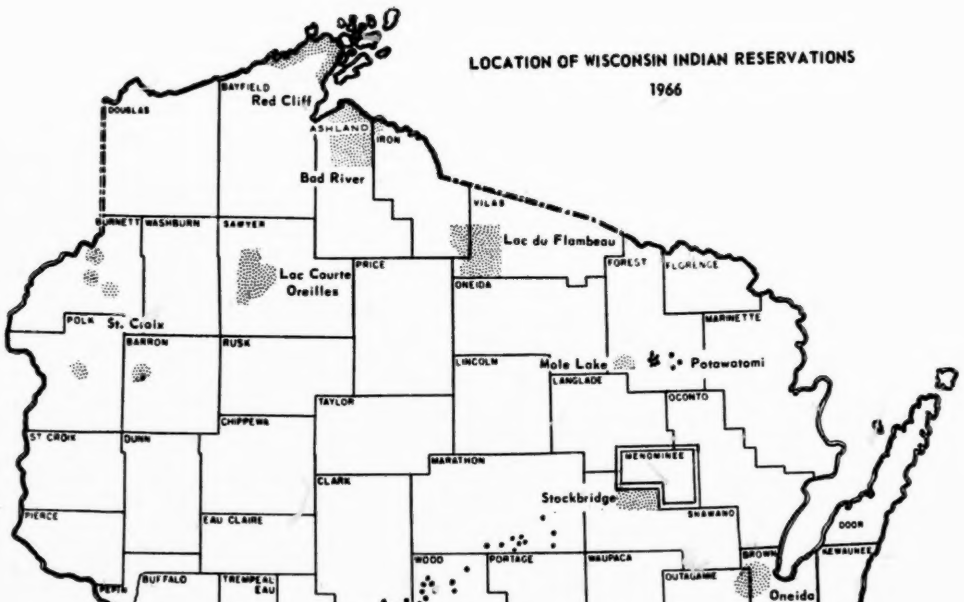
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LANGLADE
OCONTO
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Stockbridge
SHAWANO
DOOR
KEWAUNEE
PIERCE
CLARK
EAU CLAIRE
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BUFFALO
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OUTAGAMIE
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MILWAUKEE
GRANT
LA FAYETTE
GREEN
ROCK
WALWORTH
RACINE
KENOSHA

LOCATION OF WISCONSIN INDIAN RESERVATIONS

1966

Introduction

There have been many changes in the land since the Governor's Commission on Human Rights first published its *Handbook on Wisconsin Indians* in 1952. At that time little was heard from this small minority group living within the state boundaries and only a handful of state and federal officials worked with Indians on a day to day basis and knew their problems. Today the picture is very different.

A freshening wind of leadership from among the Indians themselves has generated a broad interest in discovering these forgotten citizens and in acknowledging responsibility toward them. Although in 15 years their economic position has not improved significantly and their communities have still a gray look of desolation, their psychological climate has changed from hopelessness to optimism. Their young people are finishing high school and going on to college—54 are presently on state-federal scholarships in Wisconsin universities. Their tribal councils have established housing authorities and are currently building, or planning to build, new units. One of the bands, the Winnebagos, a scattered group without form or unity, organized as an official tribe with reservation status. Indian leaders have formed sewing cooperatives, an arts and crafts project, and business committees to attract new industry. The Wisconsin Indian Youth Council was begun in 1962. And fundamental to the progress which has been made was the organization of the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council. Founded five years ago, the Council represents the first united effort of all Wisconsin Indians to band together in the common cause of preserving their heritage and promoting their economic welfare.

During this same period the federal government greatly altered its own Indian policy, resulting in, as one important change, the termination of all control over the Menominee tribe. Here the impact has been great for both the Indians and the state. Wisconsin not only has a new county but it has total jurisdiction over the former Indians, for the Menominees are no longer officially classified as Indians. The Menominees now have the difficult role of maintaining their ethnic heritage while assuming their new obligations as first-class citizens of the state. In other areas of Indian policy, the federal government has not stood still. Congress delegated to Wisconsin all civil and criminal jurisdiction over the reservations. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has turned more and more to state and local agencies for aid and cooperation.

Wisconsin has shown no reluctance in accepting the new responsibilities. Legislation and administration have gone hand in hand not merely in meeting the delegated obligations, but in objectively assessing and evaluating the needs yet unfilled by the federal government—and devising state remedies. The Indian Relief Bill passed by the legislature was an outstanding example of state leadership in this field.

With this publication, the Governor's Commission has undertaken the task of portraying the present day situation of the Wisconsin Indians. This is not a revision, however, of the original handbook. A completely new study was needed, based on the changing status of the Indians in 1966. The broad questions of the identity of the Indians and their aspirations are covered in the first chapter; succeeding chapters take up the individual reservations and the federal and state relationships. This is a reference book, intended as a summary of the facts as they are known.

Who Is The Indian?

The Indian in Wisconsin is not easy to understand. The legal definitions handed down by governmental administrators reflect the varying policies of the years. The popular image, formed by history and generalization, lingers on as a stereotype without basis in reality. Casual observation of the Indian and his community provides half truths which are more misleading than enlightening. The Indian does not explain himself readily, and when he does, the non-Indian has difficulty in understanding his values and in ascribing worth to his ways. This is an especially tangled problem, for on the surface the Indians are a part of our culture; they watch our television, they drive our cars, they work in our jobs. But they are separate, and they want to maintain their separateness. It is a state and community responsibility to attempt to discover who the Indian is, what he wants, where he lives and—how he can regain the proud dignity he once had.

Official Definitions

Because the Indians are not a race as such and yet are dealt with as a distinct group, a definition of what constitutes an Indian is needed. Many laws call an Indian one who meets the following qualifications: some of his ancestors lived in America before it was discovered by the white man and the community in which he lives regards him as an Indian. The latter qualification is important since the federal government deals for the most part with tribes rather than individual Indians. This allows the tribe to draw up its own tribal rolls and to decide who is an Indian. Those persons with one-fourth or more Indian blood are usually said to be Indian, but in actual interpretation this classification is full of inconsistencies and complexities.

The Menominees are no longer considered Indians by the U.S. government because Congress specifically terminated all supervision over them. But the state of Wisconsin still recognizes them as Indians, providing special scholarships for Menominee students who are one-quarter or more Indian.

Land plays an important role in the matter. In some cases for the Indian to qualify for special benefits, he must reside on tax-free land held in trust for him by the federal government. And yet this is not universally required, for an Indian who has no trust land may still receive assistance in the form of health care, relocation and schooling. Generally, however, non-reservation Indians do not receive federal help, and it is this group—whether Oneidas living adjacent to reservations or the St. Croix residing in isolated and scattered communities—that stands in particular need of aid. Those who belong to this group constitute a gray area of the Indian community. How many there are and where they live are not precisely known. That some of them are among the most neglected and most impoverished of Wisconsin Indians comes to light when they apply to their local governments for assistance—literally for food to keep them from starving.

Who is an Indian? Much depends on whether or not a person wants to be one, or can afford not to be one. It is a cultural-economic decision up to the individual. If he elects to live away from the reservation, to remain off the tribal rolls, and to seek no special benefits as an Indian, then for all practical purposes he is not an Indian.

Wardship and Land

Wardship is a term frequently applied to Indians. This stems from the earliest days of our history when the Indians held a special relationship with the federal government which excluded them from a normal interaction with state government. While this exclusive approach was ended in 1924 with legislation giving full citizenship to the Indians, the pattern of a wardship relationship had become established in the public mind. Today when it is said that an Indian is the ward of the government, it applies only to the guardianship responsibility which the government exercises over his land.

Of all the problems connected with Indian status, that of the lands is one of the most complicated. Because the Indian people had little of the accepted concept of private ownership of land and because they needed protection from the encroachments of settlers who wanted their lands, the federal government held their lands in trust for them. As a necessary accompaniment of government trusteeship, these lands were and are today tax-exempt. This has not been an unmitigated blessing. While it has preserved the land, it had denied to the Indians the process normally found in American community life of using taxation not only to raise funds for community projects but to develop in citizens a feeling of responsibility for what goes on in the community. It has produced a separation between the Indian communities and the larger areas around them. And it has engendered a sense among local officials that Indians are public charges who do not pay their own way.

There are two different kinds of Indian land. There is the tribal land held in common by the tribe and governed by the tribal council. It may be allocated to individual families for residence or leased to non-Indians or used for logging or any other tribal purpose. Again, Indian lands may exist as allotments, trust allotments or restricted allotments. A trust allotment is one to which the title is held by the federal government. The title to the restricted allotment is held by the Indian but he is prohibited from selling it without the consent of the government.

Control over Indian lands extends only to those lands which the federal government holds in trust. It does not extend to lands which an Indian may purchase himself. Indians own property throughout Wisconsin and pay taxes on these holdings just as anyone else is required to do.

Indian Culture

Legal definitions and land descriptions shed only a lacklustre light on the problem of the Indian's identity. The only real answer can come from the vague and nebulous spirit of a culture. The Indian culture is compounded of a heritage of traditional tribal values tracing back hundreds of years and of a more recent heritage of common subservience to a capricious paternalistic government. This latter heritage is the sum of the effects of the experiences which the Indians shared during the westward expansion of the United States. The tribes were displaced from their original land holdings; restrictive government policies resulted in family and tribal disorganization; exploitation by the whites led to undermining the Indian way of life. All this has left deep impressions on the descendants of the original Indian inhabitants and reinforced their feeling that they are different from other people. This is still strongly evident today. There is a tendency to lean on the government, since old habits of dependency are hard to break. At the same time, since the reservations are strewn with broken promises, a keen sense of futility pervades the Indian community when it looks to the government for aid or support.

The traditional Indian values which have survived the threats of time and governments and intermarriages have still great meaning for the Indian in 1966. The most pervasive of these values is his strong love and reverence for nature. The Indian has lived close to the earth, totally dependent on it for his livelihood. He feels a personal sense of identity with the wind and the rain and the sky. His is not a city dweller's casual appreciation of the sunset or delight in a weed-free lawn. The Indian's relationship to the natural world is a deep basic understanding which has guided him in the past and supports him today. It explains in part why the Indian remains in northern Wisconsin, why he has not been enthusiastic over relocation, why he often returns to the reservation. Here is a natural way of life, unhurried and undemanding. The competition and bustle of urban society is foreign to tribal custom.

Yet the reservations offer no paradise to the Indians. Many are in reality forest poorhouses where the inhabitants live in wretched hovels on the bitter edge of poverty. There is social deterioration among the people. In some areas there is excessive drinking punctuated by violence and arrests. Child neglect is not infrequent, but anyone acquainted with these people knows that Indian parents care about their children, raise them with love, and teach them respect for the aged.

Despite the impact of the outside world, Indians cling persistently to a sense of their own identity. They hand down their legends from father to son; they still teach their dances and chants to their young people; they honor and respect their hereditary chieftains. Although their languages are now dying out, there are still Wisconsin Indians who speak English only as a second tongue.

It has been often said that the Indian wants to have his cake and eat it too, enjoying the benefits of modern society without having to work for them. This, however, is a far from accurate assessment. More and more the Indian is coming to share the general economic goals of our society. As employment opportunities open, he is proving his ability to fit his various skills to useful occupations. Essentially his economic plight is not Indian in derivation. Rather it reflects the relatively undeveloped region of northern Wisconsin in which he lives, although as an Indian his condition is much worse than average.

Today, the Indian, more than a little weary and suspicious of outside efforts to improve his condition, desperately needs understanding; and any aid he receives should be based on an intelligent recognition of his determination to maintain his Indian identity. Help from above in the form of handouts or of programs which someone else thinks will be good for him, can accomplish little. Progress will come with cooperative endeavor that allows the Indian to exercise his own qualities of leadership in planning and deciding and determining his destiny.

Wisconsin Indian Tribes

Early History Of The Wisconsin Indians

The white man's history in Wisconsin barely covers three centuries, but the record of the Indians goes back thousands of years. The prehistoric inhabitants left no written history, but their burial mounds—over 12,000 in the state—have revealed five distinct cultural groups: the copper industry, the woodland, the Hopewell, the upper Mississippi and the middle Mississippi. Of these, the woodland has persisted longest and is most nearly a native Wisconsin development. These Indians came into the state, probably from Canada, approximately 4,000 years ago. They had a shrewd eye for favorable locations for their villages and most of Wisconsin's important cities are built on the sites of their former settlements.

The Menominee Indians are direct woodland descendants; the Potawatomi and the Chippewa belong to branches of the woodland. The most distinctive branch of the woodland Indians was the effigy mound group, building elaborate burial mounds in the shape of animals and birds, enclosing in them artifacts of a distinctive culture. The ancestors of the present Winnebago Indians were the upper Mississippi people, a later group of prehistoric invaders of the state. Two other prehistoric invaders were the Hopewellians who came from the south introducing a variety of luxuries indicating an extensive "foreign trade" and the people of the middle Mississippi group who built Aztalan, a relatively sophisticated stockaded village showing an indisputable Mexican influence.

By the time the white settlers established themselves in the state, descendants of the early Indians had given up mound building. They lived in semi-permanent villages, in lodges made of bark, saplings and rushes. They practiced agriculture, growing corn, beans, squash and tobacco. They hunted and fished and made clothes of fur sewed with bone needles. Their spoken tongues were rich in the figurative devices of poetry and a considerable body of legend and tradition was transmitted orally down the generations.

The Chippewa Indians

The Chippewa Indians played a prominent role in the early history of the Wisconsin territory. They formed a successful alliance with Marquette and the French fur traders who followed him. To the present day, French names are still found among the Chippewas. The Indians fought against the frontier settlements until the close of the War of 1812. Three years later they made a treaty of peace with the United States.

By 1850 official policy had been established that required the Chippewa nation to move completely out of Wisconsin and across the Mississippi westward. To hasten them on their way, President Zachary Taylor issued an executive order revoking their privileges of hunting and fishing and gathering wild rice on Wisconsin lands. But in three years only 2,000 Indians had been moved, and in 1854, the government on finding public opinion not altogether in favor of this stern policy, compromised. In the fall of 1854, the U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners met with representatives of the Chippewa Indians at Madeline Island. At this meeting they signed treaties which established the principal Chippewa reservations in Wisconsin and which gave the Chippewas a settlement of $90,000. The reservations provided for were Bad River, Red Cliff, Lac du Flambeau and Lac Courte Oreilles.

Chippewa Indian boy
Lac Courte Oreilles

Chippewa Indian girl
Lac Courte Oreilles

Bad River Reservation

The Bad River reservation of Chippewas is undoubtedly one of the most economically depressed of all the Indian communities in Wisconsin. The economic plight is accentuated by the location of the reservation; it is situated on a low area where floods annually cause devastation and additional hardship to an already impoverished people.

Population and Land

Bad River is the largest reservation in Wisconsin; the original area was 124,332 acres, including 196 acres on Madeline Island. Today there remain approximately 7,300 acres of tribal land and 35,000 acres of allotted land. Much of the allotted land is, unfortunately, tied up in heirship status, resulting in such acute legal difficulties that the land has little economic value to anyone. Before timbering a tract, the permission of the owners of the land is required, but since many of the owners have left the reservation and their whereabouts is unknown, the gaining of permission is an often unrewarding job. Most of the reservation south of Odanah is forest land, and although it is all second growth, it has a potential value far greater than the Bad River Chippewas are now realizing from it. In 1965 the tribe received only $5,378 for timber cut.

The 1966 population of Bad River is 332, less than half the number of residents in 1950. The Indians live in the small village of Odanah in the town of Sanborn on a flood plain where melting snows and early rains cause the Bad River to overflow every spring. Serious hardship and inconvenience are caused annually; much damage and loss of property occur in the years of the heavy floods. In May 1960 the flood was so severe that the governor proclaimed this a major disaster area, Odanah was evacuated, and the Red Cross came in. In the early 1950's the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers prepared flood control plans which would have included moving Odanah to higher ground. The proposals have been accepted by the tribe, but for one reason or another, in 16 years no action has been taken. Odanah is today an unattractive gray community with rutted roads, stagnant muddy pools and bare yards.

Economic Resources

Odanah offers virtually no steady jobs. Pulp cutting, hunting and trapping in the sloughs of the Bad River, harvesting wild rice, and some road work are the only sources of on-the-reservation income—and these bring in very little. Ashland is the center of major employment opportunity. In 1965, for the first time in years, steady jobs were available, mainly in the new industries developing between Ashland and Washburn. To encourage such employment, in 1965, the Bureau of Indian Affairs financed on-the-job training for 16 Bad River Indians. If Indians can get away from reliance on seasonal employment with four or five months' income and eking out an existence from welfare aids the rest of the year, the tribal future would be considerably brighter. The expanding industrial outlook of northern Wisconsin may permit this needed development.

It is obvious from the population figures of the last few decades—1940 - 1,200 residents, 1950 - 882 residents, 1966 - 332 residents—that many of the Bad River residents have been forced to move to find employment. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has helped in both relocation and vocational training projects.

Housing

There are 116 homes in the Odanah area, 24 of them unoccupied at the present. While the remaining 92 have electricity, very few homes have indoor plumbing and less than 20 percent of the families have their own water supply, depending on community wells to meet their need. There is no public sewer system in Odanah. Without a doubt the housing of the Bad River Indians is as bad as any in Wisconsin. In large measure this is due to the location of the village and to the continual expectation over a period of 15 years that some of the homes would be moved and that dikes and dams would be erected to protect the rest of the community. Under such circumstances, few tribal members have felt it worthwhile to improve a home when shortly it might be moved or flooded.

The Bad River Housing Authority operating under the tribal council has secured approval for 14 low-rental units, with construction to begin in late spring, 1966. Eleven mutual self-help units will be started shortly thereafter. These units, to be located about two miles northeast of the present village, will be served by public sewer and water systems. Eventually the authority hopes that a total of 70 units will be built.

Health, Education and Welfare

The medical needs of the Bad River band are handled by contract doctors in Ashland and by the Ashland county public health nurse. The easy accessibility of Ashland has resulted in relatively good medical care.

There is a parochial grade school in Odanah. Students attending public elementary and high school must be transported by bus to Ashland. A work-study program was begun at Bad River in 1965 which brought Northland College students to Odanah to tutor Indian elementary school students. The VISTA workers, of whom there are three in 1966, have given special attention to the needs of the young people. An active youth council now exists on the reservation. Fifteen of the high school students employed in the summer of 1965 in Neighborhood Youth Corps projects worked in fields of conservation and beautification.

The Bad River tribal council has gone on record opposing the Conservation Department's interpretation of the Indian right to hunt and fish on a year around basis. Because the reservation is checkerboarded with non-Indian lands, and because the Kakagon Sloughs offer especially attractive opportunities, many non-Indians come on the reservation to hunt and fish in season—an invasion, the tribal council feels, of Indian rights.

The recreational opportunities open to the Bad River Chippewas in the village of Odanah are limited. A neglected community building, with broken steps, cracked windows and walls, and inadequate wood stove, serves as the center for the residents to come together in tribal meetings and in social functions.

Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation

The Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewas are beginning in 1966 to show positive signs of prosperity. Until recently, however, they had been among the most impoverished of all Wisconsin Indians. The coming of more industry to the reservation and the year around recreational activity in the area have been major factors in their improved economic position.

History

By the treaty of 1854 the Lac Courte Oreilles Indians received their land where it is presently located, but the band had been recorded as active in the Hayward area for at least 100 years previous to the establishment of the reservation. The land was once covered with mighty forests, but with the individual allotment of land to each member of the tribe (1887), the loggers were able to buy their way into the reservation. From 1890 to 1925, timbering was a big business—and it was thorough in its destruction of natural assets. Few trees were left standing and there was no replanting. Large tracts were swept by fire. The ravishment of the reservation is evident today, although rehabilitation by federal foresters has begun to produce in the sixties a second growth forest with considerable potential.

Population and Land

Approximately 790 Chippewas live on the reservation, most of them in one of the two small communities, Reserve or New Post. While the reservation originally consisted of over 70,000 acres, little more than half this amount remains today, and a major problem with this remaining land is its complicated heirship status and the resultant diminution of its economic value.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains an agency at Lac Courte Oreilles which is staffed not only by an agency superintendent but by a full-time forester, a social worker, and a highway supervisor.

Economic Resources

The tribal business committee has been active in bringing new industry to the reservation. The band operates one of the most successful tribal enterprises in the country. The cranberry marsh was started in 1949 with the aid of a $100,000 loan from the revolving credit fund of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The beds cover 28 acres and during harvesting 30 members of the tribe are employed with the annual payroll exceeding $15,000. The manager is a tribal member. Another business venture of the tribe did not prove so successful. A factory manufacturing wooden packing boxes opened in 1960, survived a nearly disastrous fire early in its operations, but in recent years has not proven strong enough to hold its own in a highly competitive field.

Toward the end of 1964 an old and established manufacturer of pallets began operation at Reserve, and a year later the company was employing 18 tribal members. By the summer of 1966 an electronics plant will have opened in the tribally owned school at New Post. Hopefully this plant will be able to hire every employable member of the tribe who wants to work. In addition to these on-the-reservation opportunities, the Hayward area has received a new economic stimulus from the extensive skiing activities at Mt. Telemark some 25 miles away. Indians are employed at the hill throughout the season. During the summer, an Indian village built and occupied by members of the Lac Courte Oreilles band gives the tourists an authentic view of the former lives of these woodland Indians.

Nevertheless, although the future picture is optimistic, at the present writing year around employment for all members of the tribe is non-existent. In 1965 the estimated annual income was $1,500, 35 per cent of the tribal members received some form of welfare assistance, and in the winter 98 per cent received surplus commodities. Although summer jobs are not a problem—Indian guides are in demand on the Chippewa Flowage and more workers than are available are needed in the resorts—the winter months are difficult for many Courte Oreilles families. Wood work and pulp cutting bring in some income. In 1965 the tribe realized over $9,000 from stumpage.

The Accelerated Public Works program which once provided jobs in conservation and beautification has been abolished. Its place, the tribal business committee hopes, will be taken by new federal projects. Already a Neighborhood Youth Corps under the direction of the Farmers' Union is offering work experience of this nature to eight Chippewa young people.

Housing

Most of the houses on the reservation are of frame, shiplap and tarpaper construction without modern plumbing. Better housing is acutely needed, but because of a technicality the tribe has not been in a position to apply for new units through the Public Housing Administration. Before it can apply, the tribe must establish its own Lac Courte Oreilles Housing Authority, assess its needs and submit its plans. However, an authority cannot be established without constitutional backing... and the Courte Oreilles band did not enact a constitution and by-laws as required under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Ever since the thirties the band has operated without a formal constitution, relying on a tribally elected business committee to conduct tribal affairs. In the spring of 1966, a constitution was at last adopted by the tribe, and upon final approval by Washington the band will be able to initiate needed housing plans.

Health, Education and Welfare

A clinic with a doctor and nurse in attendance is held once a week on the reservation. Emergency service is available in Hayward through a contract doctor who by agreement with the Public Health Service handles medical needs of the Courte Oreilles Indians.

In the fall of 1966 more Courte Oreilles students than ever before will secure additional training after high school; some will attend colleges within the state, go to Haskell Institute or elect vocational training under the Wisconsin federal scholarship program. Part of the credit for the greater appreciation of educational opportunities is due to the strong encouragement given the students by the tribal business committee. An active community recreation program for the young people is offered in the tribally owned school building, and regular basketball games, Boy Scout meetings and dances are held weekly. The tribal business committee has plans in 1966–1967 for a beautification program on the reservation and for building a public beach.

Lac du Flambeau Reservation

An air of well-being, of a less harsh life, is found on the Lac du Flambeau reservation. The land itself is northern Wisconsin at its best. The pine forests and woodland meadows are dotted over with one hundred clear lakes. This is a country blue and sparkling in the summer, white and silent in the winter, where one feels the Chippewa Indian belongs.

Population and Land

Today barely half of the original 70,000 acres of land given the Lac du Flambeau band remains in Indian hands. Much of the most desirable land within the reservation, especially that with lake frontage, has long since been alienated to non-Indian owners. The 1887 allotment act gave each male Chippewa over 21 eighty acres of land to use with little restriction. Many of the Indians, however, who had no knowledge of real estate values, sold their land merely for the sake of immediate gain. As of December 1965 there remained 16,700 acres of tribal land and 13,100 acres of allotted land. The resident Indian population is 883, although several hundred more are listed on the tribal rolls. The 12 member tribal council handles the day to day problems of the community with assistance from a Bureau of Indian Affairs representative.

Timber, one of the major resources of the reservation, is managed by the council under an approved forest management plan under the direction of a Bureau forester in residence. Lac du Flambeau leads all the Wisconsin reservations in receipts from forest revenues. In 1965 almost 2,000,000 board feet were cut and close to $16,000 realized from the stumpage.

The council in addition receives an income from leasing tribal land. Most of this is for recreational development on the 22 miles of lake shore line which is in tribal ownership. A small percentage is for commercial enterprises and some 6,000 acres are leased to the Conservation Department for a wild goose propagation area.

Economic Resources

Until 1946, Lac du Flambeau was the usual poverty-stricken Wisconsin Indian settlement. During the winter, trapping and woodcutting provided a precarious existence. Conditions improved somewhat in the summer with the influx of tourists and the demand for workers in harvesting of crops. In 1946 an electric meter manufacturing company established a branch assembly plant on the reservation. The location at Lac du Flambeau was selected for purely business reasons: the availability of a completely untapped source of manpower on the reservation; the small chance that this labor supply would decrease; and the low overhead of a factory located in the north woods of Wisconsin. Today the plant employs about 90 Chippewa men and women full-time, and has expanded into a plastics operation and a tool and die shop. Employment at Simpsons coupled with work in the woods, on the highways, in the lumber company and in small businesses in the village of Flambeau, all provide tribal members with fairly good opportunities for year round incomes.

A 1966 survey showed that of 230 employable adults on the reservation 155 were permanently employed, 61 temporarily, and 14 were unemployed. Unemployment, especially in the winter, remains a problem. The distribution by the tribal council of surplus commodities to approximately 90 families prevents acute distress.

In the summer, however, this Indian community takes on a prosperous appearance. In 1950 the Indian Bowl, a large modern amphitheater seating 2,500 persons, was built on the shores of Lake Interlaken. Here, twice a week during the summer, approximately 50 Indians perform authentic Chippewa dances and ceremonials. This Indian Bowl enterprise not only brings an outstanding entertainment event to visiting tourists and provides a needed income to the dancers, but in addition it gives to all the Chippewa a pride in their heritage and a continuing identity with their culture.

Housing

Fifteen years ago, the Lac du Flambeau tribe initiated plans for new housing. In June 1966, the first new low-rental units are scheduled for completion. They will accomodate about 20 out of 216 families on the reservation, to be occupied mainly by the elderly. Forty additional single family units are planned under the mutual self-help program.

Public water and sewer have been provided for the village of Flambeau, where most of the reservation residents have lived since 1963. This installation was a joint effort of the U.S. Public Health Service which contributed $227,000 and the tribal council which contributed $180,000. This also stimulated improvements in the individual homes, most commonly, considerable remodeling and the addition of more adequate heating units to prevent the plumbing from freezing. Nevertheless, a 1966 evaluation of housing showed that out of 190 dwelling units, approximately 165 were substandard.

Health, Education and Welfare

To meet the health needs of the Indians, a clinic is held twice weekly on the reservation. In addition, the Vilas county public health nurse, by contract with the U.S. Public Health Service, devotes 40 per cent of her time to the Lac du Flambeau Indians, carrying out immunization clinics, health promotions, diabetic and tuberculosis testing, and home visits in general. Indian children have dental care provided by a contract dentist at the Lac du Flambeau school, but adults are treated only on an extreme emergency basis. More comprehensive dental care for adults would provide regular preventive treatment as well as dentures when indicated.

The education committee of the tribal council has recently started a program to deal with the problem of drop outs. Each year every junior and senior in high school receives $25 at the end of each semester. The students use the checks to buy clothes, to attend special school functions, and to participate in senior activities. The money has proven a valuable incentive for keeping the students in school.

To carry on operations of this nature, the tribal council is supported mainly by income from forestry and from leasing. From 82 land leases in 1965 the tribe received $18,610. Successful settlement of the swamp land litigation case in 1956—a complicated question involving the rightful ownership of swamp lands within the reservation boundaries—brought $229,000 to the tribe and was used for the tribal contribution to the sewer installation. Since the passage of a referendum in 1963, a portion of each year's tribal revenues have been earmarked for the acquisition of allotted land which individual Chippewas want to sell. The council spends up to $20,000 in a single year in an attempt to prevent further alienation of the land to non-Indians. The council has, in addition, responsibility for the maintenance of tribal buildings, for the purchase program of eyeglasses for all Lac du Flambeau students who need them, and for recreation programs on the reservation.

The Lac du Flambeau School Board offers during the summer a special pre-high school and primary reading enrichment program to Indian children. Started in the summer of 1964 and serving approximately 75 students, the program aims at insuring a good start in reading for the crucial years of kindergarten through second grade and focuses also on the needs of eighth graders who will soon be going to high school.

Lac du Flambeau does not have the problems of lack of communication and of adequate recreational activities as do many Indian communities. Organizations on the reservation include a Chamber of Commerce, a Lions Club, American Legion Post, a credit union and a PTA.

Photo from Dept. of Agric. Journ.—U.W. News Service

This Indian home on the Red Cliff reservation is set in the cutover forests of Bayfield county. It lacks plumbing, insulation and obviously, maintenance.

Red Cliff Reservation

The Indians of the Red Cliff reservation in Bayfield county live in an area of majestic beauty overlooking Madeline Island in Lake Superior. It was on Madeline Island more than 100 years ago that the Chippewa nation entered into a treaty with the United States government, ceding most of their lands in Wisconsin.

Population and Land

The Red Cliff reservation is small. The total area of 7,321 acres is divided into approximately 5,000 acres of tribally owned land, leaving little more than 2,000 acres to be allotted to the individual tribal members. Currently the population on the reservation is 310 residents. The total number of 459 Indians located in Bayfield county (1960 census figures) indicates that over 100 Indians are living on non-reservation lands. Sixty-four per cent of the reservation residents are 18 years or younger. About 32 per cent of the population is of employable age.

Economic Resources

Over half of the Red Cliff Chippewas make their livelihood in seasonal occupations. There is considerable opportunity for employment in the spring, summer and fall in occupations such as barge work on the lake and jobs in the canneries. Indians may also serve as guides to tourists who come to hunt and fish, although the once active Great Lakes fishing industry which formerly provided many jobs has all but disappeared. With the recent opening of new industries in Ashland and in Washburn, employment has doubled for the men of Red Cliff. Year round incomes are expected to give new life to the economy of the tribe. For some families, however, winter is still a lean period when pulp cutting and welfare aids are the major sources of support.

A garment factory established as a partnership in 1963 by the women of Red Cliff has not been particularly successful. Absenteeism and lack of steady workers combined with the demands of a highly competitive industry have caused the operations to close down at frequent intervals. Employment for women is not high. A 1965 estimate states that only 21 per cent of all employable women have jobs. Many more of the Chippewa Indian women would work if child care facilities were available.

Probably the biggest potential resource on the reservation is the approximately five miles of tribally owned shore land on Lake Superior. Here are wide sandy beaches unspoiled and uninhabited. Congressional legislation pending in 1966 would allow this area, along with part of the Bad River reservation and the Apostle Islands, to be developed as a national recreational park.

Housing

The housing at Red Cliff is extremely poor. Of the existing 55 houses, the majority are in need of major repairs. Only five houses have indoor plumbing; 33 do not have wells or water supply immediately available. Six houses do not have electricity. Most of them are not insulated. Many of them are crowded with large families living in two or three rooms. Ten low-rental units are scheduled for construction beginning in the spring of 1966 and ten mutual self-help units later in the summer.

Health, Education and Welfare

The Indian Public Health Service contracts annually with the Bayfield county board to provide public health nursing service which includes maternal and child health, communicable disease control, school health, home demonstration care, and group and individual health instruction and promotion. The Health Service also provides a fund to the tribal council for the dental care of children and pregnant women. The council transports the children in the tribally owned school bus to Ashland where selected dentists treat the dental problems.

Two resident physicians in Washburn act as the contract physicians for the Red Cliff members. Tuberculosis is well controlled although the incidence of diabetes is higher than for the rest of the county.

Since the closing of the Catholic parochial school, there has been no elementary school on the reservation. Children now attend either public or parochial schools in Bayfield which is three miles away from the reservation. In 1964 the Wisconsin Indian Summer Project initiated a new program at Red Cliff. Five college students from Wisconsin lived on the reservation and worked with the children, ages 4 to 18, bringing to them a wide variety of recreational and learning experiences. Within the reservation itself there is little opportunity for community activity. The existing community center houses the garment factory, leaving only the former parochial school to function as a community center. Without businesses or schools, the Red Cliff reservation lacks the usual meeting places essential to active community life.

General social security and welfare aids are available to the reservation Indians. Indian relief in 1965 totaled $8,698.48. Two VISTA workers serve on the reservation as advisors to youth groups, tutors to students, and as unofficial members of the women's organization, helping out occasionally in babysitting and regularly in a nursery school project.

Sakaogon Chippewa Reservation (Mole Lake)

The Mole Lake reservation is the smallest of all reservations in Wisconsin. The total area comprises barely 1,700 acres. In 1966 there were 109 Indian residents. Yet the smallness of area and population has not allowed this tribe to escape the social and economic difficulties of their fellow Chippewas. Indeed, to some extent, these very difficulties have been accentuated by the fact that often less attention has been given to them than to the larger groups who may receive aid by virtue of their size.

History

The Sakaogon band of Chippewa Indians has had a long and honorable history in Wisconsin. Pledging peace and friendship, their chief signed a treaty in 1826 at Fond du Lac with federal officials and in return received materials for clothes, and guns and powder for hunting. Successive treaties were signed, until in 1855, 12 square miles of reservation land were allocated to the band. But as years passed this treaty was not honored and the tribe remained landless. The many trips of tribal chiefs to Washington were fruitless. Finally with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, Commissioner John Collier of the Bureau of Indian Affairs came to Ashland to discuss claims with the band. Commissioner Collier asked Chief Willard L. Ackley where he desired a reservation; Ackley responded by showing him a handful of wild rice. This was food for his people; the land that they had traditionally settled in was centered around Rice Lake. It was agreed then to buy the land in this area as a reservation for the tribe. In 1937 the band adopted a constitution and two years later the area acquired was officially proclaimed to be a reservation in the name of the Sakaogan Chippewa Community. Thus it took over 100 years for these Chippewas to obtain legal right to land which had once all been theirs.

The 1,680 acres which the tribe received was nevertheless not the original promise of 12 square miles. As a result, today the band has treaty claims pending with the federal government. While they have not yet been successful in obtaining any kind of settlement, the tribal members have declared that since their cause is just they will not relinquish their claims.

Population and Land

Mole Lake, a small community on one side of Rice Lake, is made up of two small general stores, a filling station, the elementary school, a tavern and the Waba-Nun-Nung Chapel. The homes are scattered on either side of the highway for about one mile. There is a surprising number of non-Indian farms in the area, but the encroaching forests and rocky soil make agriculture a difficult and unrewarding venture.

Of the 1,700 acres in the reservation, approximately 280 are indifferent farm land, 1,100 acres mainly coniferous timberland, and 280 acres unproductive swampland and upland brush. The forest provides fuel for the homes and lumber for personal buildings. From this source also comes the largest portion of tribal funds which are used for operation of the tribal government. Since the total value of timber cut in 1965 was not much more than $1,000, it is obvious that the forest has little commercial value to the tribe.

Until the middle 1960's Rice Lake was the most valuable resource on the reservation. This large shallow body of water of 320 acres provided the community a substantial source of income in the harvesting of wild rice. In 1962, for example, over 10,000 pounds of wild rice were harvested by local residents. Recently, however, the lake has become choked with lilies and other aquatic plants which have prevented the rice from reseeding, and as a result the 1965 rice harvest was negligible. The tribe has asked the Conservation Department of the state of Wisconsin for help in re-establishing the rice beds.

In 1966 the tribal roles list 726 Indians as members of the Sakaogon band of Chippewas. However, the resident population on the reservation is 109 persons, divided into 27 households of 53 persons between 14 and 65, 42 children under 14 years, and 14 people older than 65.

Economic Resources

Employment is the chief problem faced by the tribe. Out of 27 heads of families, a 1966 survey showed that eight men were steadily employed at a lumber company in nearby Laona, six had part-time employment, for the most part in the woods, four were unemployed and nine were unemployable, either because of age or physical handicap. In addition to these men, there were 13 young people not in school who worked occasionally in the woods, but who did not have regular jobs. There were almost no jobs for women, though a few have engaged in bead work and weaving.

In 1960 the average income per household in Wisconsin was $6,058. In Forest county the average per household was $4,314. On the Mole Lake reservation, in 1966, three-fourths of the families have an estimated income of under $3,000. This figure represents total family income, including public assistance.

Housing

Shortly after the Indians received their reservation land in the 30's, 18 houses were built for them, and some homes and out buildings of the early white settlers in the territory were bought for them. Today most of this original housing is still in use. No maintenance has been given by the government since the original construction. As a result, many of the houses need roofing and other extensive repairs. Because this is untaxable Indian land, it is impossible for veterans to get repair loans, and because of the generally low income, private loans are also unavailable. Consequently, there has been a continuing deterioration of the property. In the late 1950's the tribe itself assumed responsibility for loaning members funds for home repair and rehabilitation. The money at its disposal, however, was not large enough to offer more than stopgap aid, and has now been exhausted.

There are about 25 homes in Mole Lake. These are wood shells with space heaters which are less than adequate in cold weather. The foundations of many of the homes are crumbling and the wood framing is so rotten that repair is almost impossible. Only one of the homes has indoor plumbing and not all have electricity. While most have wells outside their houses, a number of the families must carry their water from a distance. Probably, however, the most serious problem in Mole Lake housing is the extreme overcrowding. Some alleviation of the situation will occur when the eight units approved by the Public Housing Administration are built.

Health, Education and Welfare

The health care of the Indians is handled on a flat fee basis by physicians of their choice through the United States Public Health Service. Dental care is arranged in the fall of each year by the Forest county nurse who checks with Indian families on the needs of the children for dental services, after which the Health Service authorizes treatment by the dentist the family chooses. One of the problems hampering better medical service is the comparative isolation of the Mole Lake band and the limited availability of cars when the men are away at work, thus making transportation to doctor or dentist a matter of grave difficulty.

Mole Lake is fortunate to have in the community an elementary school which serves as a focal point for at least some of the tribal activities. The PTA is active on the reservation. Of tribal members now living on the reservation, only five have completed high school. Five are now attending the Crandon high school. The youngsters who have dropped out of school give as their reason lack of money and proper clothing, but it is apparent that lack of parental insistence is a factor also. A few of the drop outs have gone on with vocational training.

Mole Lake recreational needs are well met in the field of sports. Several nights a week are given over to basketball in the school gym. There is a Little League team for boys in the summer. Three VISTA workers have helped to organize a pre-school nursery group and a Boy Scout troup; they act as advisors to the women's organization, occasionally sponsoring dances and offering a study hall in the evening for high school students in the newly refurbished community center. With the aid of tribal members the VISTAS cleaned and painted the center. Here the six member tribal council meets once a month.

St. Croix Band

The St. Croix band of Chippewa Indians have been called the "Lost Tribe of Chippewas" because they were left out of the treaty of 1854 which established the Chippewa reservations in Wisconsin. Today, from the social and economic standpoint, this description is appropriate. The St. Croix Indians are an isolated, scattered group deep in the woods of Polk, Burnett and Barron counties in northwestern Wisconsin.

History

Because the St. Croix band chieftains were not represented at the historic Indian conference in 1854, they received no land allotment from the federal government. Thus as a landless tribe, they were forced into the miserable existence of squatters on land no one wanted. Not until 1934 did they receive recognition of their claim to land. Under the Indian Reorganization Act, land was purchased for them, for the most part in communities where they were already living. Groups of St. Croix Indians were centered at Danbury, Webster and Hertel in Burnett county; at Luck and Balsam Lake in Polk county. In these instances water sites were available for the harvesting of wild rice. Like the Sakaogon band of Mole Lake Chippewa—the other lost tribe—the St. Croix band has depended on wild rice as a major food supply and source of outside income.

Population and Land

Although over 1,750 acres of land were purchased by the government for the St. Croix Indians, this land had little economic value. Agriculturally it was almost worthless; the cutover, second growth forests gave no promise of commercial timbering. In 1962, for example, the total value of timber cut on St. Croix lands was $532, a figure portending a bleak outlook in forestry.

As a band, the St. Croix Chippewa have tribal holdings in six separate locations. The resident Indian population on the trust land in 1966 was 306. In addition, there were over 100 Indians residing adjacent to these lands who were enrolled in the tribe. As of March 1966, there were 200 Indians in Burnett county, 56 in Polk county and 50 in Barron county; the approximate land held in these communities was 950 acres in Burnett county, 800 in Polk county and 17 in Barron county. The latter parcel, approximately seven miles northwest of Cumberland on the southwest shore of Sand Lake, was fee patented by the United States to Little Pipe, one of the St. Croix Chippewa leaders at that time. Some 12 families, many of them descendants of Little Pipe, still live on the land today.

Economic Resources

The location of the Chippewa lands is the major barrier to gainful employment. The Indians live in wooded areas, isolated from surrounding communities and isolated from each other.

Today the gathering of wild rice constitutes a main reservation income source. Hunting and trapping are open to the residents of the reservations on a year round basis, but in actual practice this is not an especial boon to the St. Croix people as they have so few acres on which to exercise this right. Pulp cutting jobs on a piece work basis are available during the warmer months of the year as is seasonal work in the cranberry marshes. The communities in the area are not large enough to offer much in the way of steady employment to the St. Croix Indians, although a small leather factory opened in 1965 in Spooner regularly employing eight tribal members. A few years ago many of the men were employed under the Accelerated Public Works program on the tribal holdings, but since this program was abandoned, nothing has yet come in to take its place.

In 1961 the St. Croix Improvement Association was formed by tribal members and by interested non-Indians with the aim of working together to help the Indians help themselves. The Association was instrumental in starting specific projects such as craft work and souvenir stands, but more than that it brought a new spirit of hope to a group desperately needing backing and confidence. A wild rice cooperative was started, electricity was brought to Danbury, and encouragement was given individual families in their attempts to achieve a better life.

Housing

Housing on these scattered tracts of land consists in most cases of tarpaper, split log cabins built during the thirties under W.P.A. projects. The Danbury community, for example, consists of a few houses set deep in the woods together with eight of the split log cabins built together in a straight row, unfortunately on low land, so that much of the year a sea of mud surrounds them. Here, outside of Webster, 14 St. Croix families live. The Hertel group of the St. Croix live in similar houses, but have the advantage of a better site. The 20 families living here are on high ground overlooking Sand Lake. Most of the homes are in serious need of repair. They are small, three rooms at the most, and are generally overcrowded.

The U.S. Public Health Service started in the spring of 1966 to install plumbing in a total of 31 of the homes in the Danbury community and in the Big Round Lake community in Polk county. The Health Service will provide individual wells and septic tanks, electric pumps, pressure tanks, toilets and kitchen sinks and all necessary piping. The homeowners will be required to furnish space in the homes to house the new facilities and they must help in the trenching for the pipes around the houses. The project cost totals $54,000.

In 1965 a housing program for the St. Croix band failed to materialize, and there is now little prospect for new units under governmental sponsorship. A small experimental program, however, under the aegis of the Diocesan Indian Commission of the Catholic church, proved so successful that it inspired hope for similar projects on a larger scale. A leading midwest architectural firm drew up plans for a simple three bedroom home of concrete block construction. Three Indian families built their own homes, laying the blocks themselves and cutting the needed lumber from the tribal lands. The costs in 1964 were $700 for the basic house. In the opinion of the

Photo from Dept. of Agric. Journ.—U.W. News Services

These houses of the Danbury group of the St. Croix Indians were built over 35 years ago. In the spring of 1966, at a cost of $54,000 the Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health installed plumbing in a total of 31 of these St. Croix homes.

Commission, the Indian homeowners have not only been able to acquire decent homes for themselves, but also because of their own labor they have acquired new insight into the need for greater education for their children and increased financial responsibility for the family as a whole.

Health, Education and Welfare

The scattering of the St. Croix Indians into small groups has made it difficult to provide a unified health program. The three counties, therefore, bear the primary responsibility for medical services to the Indians requiring them.

A 1965 survey showed that two-thirds of the total Indian population in Burnett county were receiving some form of public assistance. This same percentage is approximated in the other counties of Polk and Barron.

The isolation of the communities and people has resulted in problems of tribal government and in inevitable misunderstandings between various groups among whom communication is limited. Danbury, for example, has a community building which cannot, because of distance, be used by other groups of the St. Croix, but it also cannot be adequately used by the Danbury Indians because of the smallness of their group.

The Oneida Indians

The Oneidas are considered among the most progressive of the Wisconsin Indians. They rank high in employment and in general adjustment to a larger community life. Nevertheless, the Oneida people face many problems of an economic and welfare nature, problems that clearly illustrate the need for intelligent aid given to a comparatively prosperous Indian people.

History

The Oneidas moved to Wisconsin from New York in 1823, bringing with them a culture already altered greatly by their contact with the white man. After several treaty negotiations, they were given in 1838 a reservation in the east central portion of the state, west of Green Bay in Brown and Outagamie counties, a section of about 12 miles square or 65,000 acres.

Until the General Allotment Act of 1887 went into effect, the Oneidas had maintained themselves in a form of cultural and economic isolation from the "white sea" around them. However, with allotment, the life of the tribe began to change. The inexperience of the Indians in land ownership led them into loss of most of their land through tax delinquency and mortgage foreclosures. By 1930 only a little over 1,000 acres remained in Oneida hands.

The depression of the thirties saw a serious economic crisis among the Oneidas. By 1939 approximately 1,300 out of the 1,500 Oneidas in the area were receiving governmental aid either in the form of surplus commodities, W.P.A., outdoor relief, old age or dependent children's pensions, or C.C.C. work. The W.P.A. projects were well adapted to Oneida needs. A dam built at Kaukauna, a program of teaching Oneidas to read and write their own language, and a house building project, all played a part in sustaining the people. During the same period, the Indian Reorganization Act was instrumental in helping the Oneidas form a needed tribal organization and in reestablishing them as a cohesive unit. Another aid to them at this time was the purchase of over 1,900 acres to add to their tribal holdings.

Remnants of the historical debt owed the Oneidas are still to be seen today. In 1794 the government signed a treaty honoring the Oneidas for their help to the United States in fighting the Revolutionary War. The Oneidas were one of the few tribes in the Iroquois Confederation who sided with the colonists against England. The treaty called for an annual payment of $1,800 to the tribe for this aid. Prorated among each member this amounts to about 50¢ per person per year. It is now paid approximately every ten years so that the prorated share can be allowed to accumulate into a larger sum.

Population and Land

The population of the Oneidas can be assessed from various angles. Five thousand one hundred and eighty-four are recorded on the tribal roles, but the number of Oneidas who reside on federal non-taxable lands, and who are therefore reservation Indians, totaled only 399 persons in 1966. This great discrepancy is due in part to the fact that a great number of Oneidas work and live in urban areas but still have their roots in the reservation area. For example, there are approximately 700 Oneidas in Milwaukee alone. The fact that 950 Indians live on private property in the area may also account for the difference.

Of the 2,592 acres comprising the Oneida reservation, 2,058 are tribally owned and 534 allotted. The reservation is centered around the two communities of Oneida and Hobart, both of which are in the Green Bay area.

While recognizing the division of tribal members between those who live on federal land and those who do not, for all practical purposes the Oneidas must be considered as a single group. Of the 298 households in the area, about 60 at present have been granted land use assignments on 2,400 acres. Approximately 100 families are landless and rent from Indians and non-Indians. The rest own taxable land. The average allotment is 10 to 26 acres. The tribal executive committee supervises the land use assignments. Heirship problems are not uncommon both on allotted land and assigned tribal lands.

Economic Resources

There are few opportunities for jobs in the Oneida community. While the land is in a fairly good agricultural area where dairy farming predominates, few of the Oneida families depend upon farming as a livelihood. Lack of a farm tradition, lack of capital essential for machinery and modern buildings, and lack of adequately sized land parcels make farming practically impossible.

Of the approximately 230 employable men, 56 per cent were employed full-time in 1965; the rest were unemployed part or most of the year. Since almost all of the local employment is on a seasonal basis, most of the men seek employment in the Green Bay area, the major numbers of them in building and road construction, truck farming, and dock and grain elevator work. The earned income of some 300 Oneida families shows a median figure of over $3,000 per year. However, this also reveals that 57.7 per cent of the families have an earned income of less than $3,000 per year.

As in any employment situation there is a difference of opinion between employees and employers. Many Oneidas feel that there is an undercurrent of subtle discrimination against hiring Indians in the Green Bay area, especially in white collar jobs. On the other hand, a study made a number of years ago revealed a cordial reaction on the part of employers to the efficiency and worth of Oneida workers. This indicated that the main reason for the economic problems of the Oneidas was not due to lack of employment opportunities, but to the behavior patterns of a few Indians who were not responsible in their habits of work.

While many Oneidas have moved to Milwaukee on a permanent basis, a number of the men work there during the week and return to the reservation on weekends. This arrangement has its drawbacks; yet many Indian families feel that the advantages of rearing their children in the home community far removed from crowded city life far outweigh the disadvantages.

Housing

Gently rolling hills and wide fields surround the small village of Oneida. There two stores, a filling station and post office make up the business community. An Episcopal Mission—founded in 1702, the oldest in Wisconsin—and a tavern across from it complete the picture.

Across the highway are several rows of unpainted houses, most of them little better than shacks, built in the thirties, served by a central pump. The homes throughout the reservation, aside from a small number built since World War II, are generally lacking in central heating, insulation, and space. Over half of the residences do not have indoor plumbing and 51 per cent have no well on the property.

To help these low income families obtain better housing, the federal government, working with the Oneida Housing Authority, has authorized the construction of 66 units for Oneidas living on non-taxable lands. In the spring of 1966, 26 low-rental units will be started on 25 acres of land donated to the tribe by the Episcopal Mission. The balance of the 40 units will be made available later under a mutual self-help program by which the Public Housing Administration will provide the material, professional labor, supervision, and instruction in home construction, while the participating Indian family provides the labor required to build the home.

Health, Education and Welfare

In the Oneida area there are no doctors or dentists or pharmacies. The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains no special health service for the Oneidas either in the form of contract doctors or special public health nursing service through the counties involved.

Oneida children attend public and parochial schools in four districts. Most must take buses to school. An education committee operating under the tribal council works to promote greater appreciation of educational opportunities. In the ten years of the operation of the college scholarship program for Indian high school graduates, 27 Oneida students have participated.

One of the needs still not adequately met today is public recreational facilities for young people. In the Oneida area there is no place where the boys can play basketball in the winter or, indeed, where anyone may participate in any indoor sports activity. There is no community center where tribal members can meet for governmental or social occasions. There is no outdoor athletic field where football or baseball can be played. The sole facilities for general social get-togethers are the churches and the taverns.

The Green Bay Commission on Human Rights and the Green Bay League of Women Voters have both shown a deep interest in problems faced by the Oneidas.

The Potawatomi Indians

Deep isolation characterizes the Potawatomi Indians of northern Wisconsin. Living on widely scattered grants of government land deep in the woods of Forest county, these Indians have remained apart from the white community and retained much of their traditional culture. Their economic position is appallingly low.

History

Potawatomi communities were found throughout the Middle West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1836 the United States Army moved a major portion of them to Kansas and Oklahoma. Some of the families, however, refused to go west and fled northward into Wisconsin where they lived in scattered settlements along Lake Michigan.

By the early 1900's the major community of the Potawatomi was located in Forest county, in and around the towns of Wabeno and Crandon. The distress and starvation prevalent among them was recognized in 1913 when Congress appropriated $150,000 for the purchase of land and $100,000 for the building of houses. Since it was cutover land obtained from the lumber companies, it was not particularly valuable. The land was purchased in staggered sections with the purpose of spreading the Indians among the whites, on the theory that adaptation to the white man's ways would thus proceed at a faster pace. Eighty acres of this government land, held in trust on a tribal basis, were parcelled out to each family.

Population and Land

The Potawatomi lands originally consisted of 14,439 acres. As of December 1965, there still remained 11,786 acres of trust land of which the greater part is tribally controlled. Only 640 acres is allotted land. The resident Indian population on trust land is 195.

Unlike most of the other Indians, the Potawatomi do not live together in small communities or villages. Their lands are scattered on heavily forested hills between Crandon, Laona, Wabeno and Townsend, a distance of about 20 miles. Some of the homes are not accessible by road and can be reached only by path or trail.

Economic Resources

Timber products represent the largest natural resource of the tribe. A forest management plan permits the Potawatomi to cut 5,000 cords of timber annually. In 1965 a Bureau of Indian Affairs forestry office was opened in Wabeno. The forester has expedited timber sales by acting on logging permits without delay. Helped by Potawatomi field crews, he has taken an inventory of the tribal lands so that the forest yield can be sustained on a permanent basis through selective cutting and replanting.

In 1965 the gross market value of all products cut was approximately $60,000. The stumpage from all sales amounted to $8,575. The volume cut represented an increase of approximately 800 per cent over that of 1964, although at 4,000 cords, it was still under the maximum allowable cut. Potawatomi loggers cut 65 per cent of this timber, and tribal members were employed by the non-Indian logging contractors in cutting the balance.

Aside from timber, a portion of the Potawatomi income is derived from seasonal harvesting of crops. Harvesting activity shows a similar pattern to that of the other Indian bands: migration to the cherry orchards of Door county in July and to the potato fields of northern Wisconsin in August. In the fall, many of the Indians pick pine greens for use as Christmas decorations. The influx of summer tourists offers limited opportunity for guiding and for selling handicraft work. A sawmill and manufacturing plant in Laona offers employment to a number of the tribal members. The average income of the Potawatomi ranges between $600 and $2,000 a year.

Recent road construction has opened up tribally owned lake frontage on four lakes, with the possibility of future recreational development. The executive council of the tribe has proposed a public works program to allow development of beach facilities on Devil's Lake, a ski area at Sugar Bush Hill . . . claimed to be the highest point in Wisconsin . . . and a state park at Sugar Bush Hill with nature trails and picnic facilities.

Housing

There are about 25 two or three room houses on the Potawatomi lands. Most of them were built in 1918 and are wooden shells, having no modern conveniences, badly in need of repair, and in some cases incredibly overcrowded. Only four of the homes have electricity.

The people are served by five community wells scattered throughout the area. One family living at Carter is eight miles from the nearest water supply. Because of distance and lack of transportation, water is a precious commodity which must be conserved. The lack of readily available water makes an already hard existence even more of a struggle.

The tribal council considers housing as the greatest need of the Potawatomi today. Fifteen new housing units have been requested, but by the spring of 1966 approval had not yet been given.

Health, Education and Welfare

While the medical and dental care of the Potawatomi is handled in the same fashion as the Mole Lake Chippewa with the option of choosing doctors, the Potawatomi are even more handicapped from a health standpoint by their greater isolation and their lack of transportation to nearby villages and cities. The primitive living conditions, accentuated by lack of water, make simple cleanliness a major problem and thus an invitation to sickness and disease. The incidence of respiratory illness is high.

The hot lunch program is a contributing factor to good school attendance. Of the high school graduates who have entered vocational training, few return to the reservation, for there are no opportunities for employment.

Because of the lack of steady employment, approximately 75 per cent of the total Potawatomi population receives some form of public assistance for six months out of every year.

Communication within the tribe is made more difficult because of the distance between houses, but the tribal council meets regularly once a month and popular participation in the government is good. Two VISTA workers who came to the reservation in 1965 work primarily with the pre-school children and the mothers.

The Stockbridge-Munsee Indians

The Stockbridge-Munsee Indians of Wisconsin live in an area of little economic opportunity. Their land is submarginal. It is not adapted to modern farming, and the forests are not large or productive enough to support many people. There are no industries and few places of employment in nearby communities.

History

The Stockbridge Indians came originally from western Massachusetts, having been forced to move five times before they could settle permanently on the land which is now theirs in Shawano county. The pressure of the white colonists in 1785 first caused them to move to lands obtained from the Oneida Indians in New York. In 1818 they went to White River, Indiana, but the land was gone when they arrived. Forced to move again, they were joined by the Munsees, a Delaware tribe. In 1822 the combined tribes moved to the Green Bay area. Twelve years later, however, since white settlers wanted their land, they were removed to the east side of Lake Winnebago, where the town of Stockbridge is still to be found. But here again they had no peace. Finally, in 1856, a treaty was signed with the Menominees and the federal government purchased for the Stockbridge-Munsee the southwestern portion of the Menominee reservation, some 44,000 acres—where they are living today.

The Allotment Act of 1887 resulted in the sale of almost all of the Stockbridge lands. Recognizing the plight of these landless people, the government purchased 2,250 acres for them in the late thirties. The Farm Security Administration also purchased 13,077 acres in the reservation area which is being used to some extent by the tribe and administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, although actual title remains with the United States Department of Agriculture.

Population and Land

Latest figures show 380 Stockbridge-Munsee residing on lands in the reservation. A total of 750 are listed on the tribal rolls. Because many of the Indians have their homes and assignments on the Department of Agriculture land to which neither they nor the tribe have clear title, legislation has been introduced in Congress to transfer title of this land to the tribe.

Two good trout streams, the Red River and the west branch of the Red River, cross the reservation in a southeasterly direction. A proposal has been advanced by the tribe for the building of a dam and lake, with the development of recreational facilities on the Red River. Unlike most of the reservation Indians in Wisconsin, the Stockbridge-Munsee are not accorded the privilege of hunting and fishing the year around.

Economic Resources

The reservation's lands are not suitable for farming because the productivity of the land itself is not high and the individual acreage is not large enough to permit families to make an adequate living. Forest development, however, offers great potential. Before the loggers came in at the turn of the century, this area was covered with virgin forests. Today the cutover land is beginning to produce second growth trees of significant value. A forest management plan was approved in the spring of 1962. In 1965, the Stockbridge ranked second among Wisconsin reservation in receipts from timber—$11,960 for stumpage alone. This does not include the income to the Indians for their labor in the woods, which is estimated to have been close to $15,000.

With little employment opportunities either in Bartelme or in nearby Bowler, many of the Indians must commute long distances to work in Milwaukee, Green Bay, Clintonville or Wausau. There is seasonal employment in harvesting. Some of the Stockbridge women of Red Springs have jobs in a garment factory in Gresham.

At the suggestion of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights in 1962, the Stockbridge tribal council initiated an arts and crafts project in cooperation with the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Bowler public schools. This enterprise aimed at providing tribal members employment in a project of their own creation. The tribe received a loan of $12,000 from the Small Business Administration in order to start production. Instructors were hired in weaving, woodworking and silver smithing, and classes were started in 1964. Production began in 1965. Eight families worked off and on for four months, grossing $4,400 and netting $2,000. Today much of the work is done in the homes on a cottage industry basis, while the weaving with the big looms is conducted in the community hall factory. Thus far this is not a large venture, and although the future cannot be predicted with certainty, the Stockbridge leaders are hopeful that this will develop into a prosperous reservation industry.

Housing

Through the use of W.P.A. funds during the period of 1935 to 1938 there were over 40 homes built or remodeled to alleviate the critical housing shortage on the Stockbridge reservation. At the present time there are 76 homes situated on tribal and Farm Security Administration lands. Home sites and acreage are made on an assignment basis by the tribal council. Over half the homes are in very poor condition. Although most of them have electricity, 72 out of the 76 do not have indoor water, and 20 of these houses do not have wells on the premises. At least 24 families are in houses much too small.

Under the Public Housing Administration plan, 20 low-income rental units are scheduled for construction beginning in the spring of 1966. These will be closely built duplex units without basements. Some tribal members suggest that the lack of space for laundry and workroom facilities will cause misuse and overuse of the new units and that the Wisconsin winters are likely to damage the basementless homes. The application for an additional 27 mutual self-help units has not yet been approved.

Health, Education and Welfare

Although at one time, previous to 1948, the federal government provided part-time medical care and supervision, no special provision is made at the present time for the health needs of the Stockbridge-Munsee. The Shawano county welfare department, working with the county nurse, currently provides the medical care for those who are indigent.

The Stockbridge children take buses to public schools in Bowler, Gresham and Shawano. A number of the young people have received scholarship grants to pursue a college education, but most popular upon high school graduation is vocational training which covers a wide variety of fields. However, usually upon completion of the training the students find they cannot return to Stockbridge because there is no employment on the reservation.

The seven member tribal council meets once a month to handle problems of community welfare. Recognizing the need for recreational opportunities, the council has proposed a larger community hall to be used for both athletic and social functions, a well planned program for young people on the reservation, and community parks and picnic grounds. As a step in this direction, the council has requested VISTA workers to aid in development and management and to assist in work with children.

Photo from Bureau of Indian Affairs

Arvid Miller, a member of the Stockbridge-Munsee Indian community and chairman of the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council, is engaged in silver smithing in the Stockbridge Arts and Crafts shop.

The Winnebago Indians

The history of the Winnebagos reveals a proud group of Indians, made landless in the mid-nineteenth century, who by reason of their perseverance and their love of the land, achieved official recognition of their tribal status in Wisconsin over 100 years later.

History

Through treaties signed under duress in the 1830's, the lands of the Winnebagos in Wisconsin were taken away from them. The tribe was moved westward first to Minnesota, then to South Dakota and ultimately to Nebraska. Individual Indians, however, managed to return to Wisconsin, hiding out deep in the woods. After the last unsuccessful attempt to move them to Nebraska in 1874, the government permitted those in Wisconsin to take up 40 acre homesteads if they would relinquish claims to the Nebraska reservation. While the various bands readily agreed to this arrangement, by this time the best lands had been taken by the white settlers. Today the Winnebago communities are scattered over an area of several hundred miles from Wittenberg in eastern Wisconsin to La Crosse in western Wisconsin with the largest community near Black River Falls.

After World War II the Winnebagos organized a committee to press long pending claims against the federal government. Although they were not successful in the prosecution of these claims, their activities convinced them of the need for tribal recognition. This led to the formation of the Winnebago business committee, a forward-looking group determined to re-establish the Winnebago tribe. Under the Indian Reorganization Act, elections were held in 1963 approving a formal tribal government, and work was begun in implementing projects in housing, education and economic improvement.

Population and Land

Since Winnebago lands in Wisconsin are scattered in ten counties throughout the state, their "reservation" is only a figurative term. There are 40 tribally owned acres and 3,849 allotted acres. The allotted lands unfortunately are almost useless economically because of complicated heirship problems. The largest communities of Winnebagos are found in Jackson county near Black River Falls where there are close to 300 Indians; in Juneau county near Wisconsin Dells where there are about 250; in Monroe county around Tomah and toward La Crosse, 250; in Wood county near Wisconsin Rapids, 225; and in Shawano county around Wittenberg, 125. These are approximate figures and are, of course, constantly changing.

Population figures of the Winnebagos are difficult to arrive at, not only because of the many scattered communities, but also because relatively few

Winnebagos live on trust lands. Only 247 tribal members live on allotted land, yet the tribal rolls currently list over 3,000 members. Since many of these people are living in Chicago and Milwaukee, the number remaining in rural Wisconsin is about 1,800.

Economic Resources

The once purely seasonal work of the Winnebagos, harvesting in the summer months and trapping in the winter, with handcraft work throughout the year, is being replaced somewhat with more regular work. Throughout the rural areas, Winnebago work in small businesses and factories, in construction jobs and garages. More and more women are engaged in office work. In Tomah a number of Winnebagos are employed at the Veterans Hospital; in Wisconsin Rapids some work in the paper industry.

The majority of the Winnebagos, however, still rely on seasonal work as the most important source of income. Harvesting opportunities are, unfortunately, decreasing rapidly due to mechanization not only in the cranberry bogs but in the cherry orchards. Many households depend on highway jobs, forestry projects, resort and tourist work, such as the pageantry at the Wisconsin Dells. Handcrafts have not disappeared, although the amount of cash income from making baskets and beads is not large. The Winnebago Handcraft Cooperative, founded to promote the marketing of the craft work, has proved valuable to the tribe in keeping alive the creativity of the Winnebagos and in contributing a valid business experience to the members.

The Winnebago business committee today seeks to help tribal members prosper, but at the same time to support traditional Winnebago values. The business committee, for example, working with the church was instrumental in starting a small sewing industry at the Indian Mission near Black River Falls. Here in the newly remodeled community building, eight Winnebago women, partners in the enterprise since November 1965, make hospital gowns on an assembly line piece work basis.

Housing

Surveys in the various Winnebago communities have made one thing abundantly clear: there is no area with good housing. Most of the houses are old wooden structures without running water, adequate heat or even enough window space. In one out of five cases, according to a 1963 study,[1] the Winnebago home is either a wigwam or a hogan made of bent birch saplings covered with tarpaper.

The Indian Mission at Black River Falls has about 300 residents who are served by four water wells, only one of which is connected to a sewer. The lack of sunshine and window area, overcrowding and draftiness of the homes, are major factors in causing susceptibility to respiratory infections.

Housing is considered a primary need by the business committee. Under its housing improvement program, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has authorized 20 new units to be built. Construction will start in July 1966, with ten units at Black River Falls and ten at the Wisconsin Dells area. The United

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[1] Miller and Lurie, *Report on Wisconsin Winnebago Project and Contribution of Community Development to the Prevention of Dependency.* HEW, 1963.

Church of Christ, which operates the mission at Black River Falls, donated 103 acres to the United States government in trust for the tribe for the housing project, and the University of Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation and the Wisconsin Dells American Legion post donated 82 acres in the Dells area. While nothing specific has been planned for the Winnebagos at Wisconsin Rapids, the city council has considered a separate low rent housing project for the Indians.

Health, Education and Welfare

The health needs of the Winnebagos are not the responsibility of the U.S. Public Health Service, Indian Section. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has no contract with the counties to give special public health nursing service to the Indians. Tribal members who are receiving welfare aids are eligible for medical and dental care as are any other citizens. Indian health problems as such are not given special attention by the county nurses, but because many of the Indian families are among those requiring the most help, they do receive treatment. The Indian Mission at Black River Falls offers church-sponsored immunizations and check-ups annually.

The problem of high school drop outs has been of major concern to the Winnebago business committee. The student who comes home from school to an overcrowded, poorly lighted home finds it difficult to keep up with academic requirements. Finding that he cannot do his homework adequately and that he is behind his classmates in preparation, he is likely to conclude that high school is no place for him. A supervised study program was started at Black River Falls to meet this problem. In the school year 1965-1966, 20 students met nightly in the church basement to study in quiet with reference books available. In the Wittenberg area, there has not been a drop out in ten years.

In the summer of 1964 a summer school demonstration project was started at Black River Falls to help Winnebago children in their schooling. The ten staff members aimed not only at improving the basic academic skills of the students but at stimulating them to a higher level of aspiration. The program, sponsored by the Winnebago Indian Mission and assisted by volunteers from the Wisconsin Indian Summer Project, was offered again in 1965 and will be continued in 1966.

The Winnebago young people themselves have begun their own drive for more educational opportunities, organizing a Winnebago Student Conference in 1964 at La Crosse State University, a project which they hope to establish on an annual basis.

Church missions have been active in working with the Winnebagos. The United Church of Christ operates the Indian Mission at Black River Falls and the Winnebago Children's Home at Neillsville. The First English Lutheran Church in Wisconsin Rapids works with the Winnebagos in a variety of social service fields; their monthly publication *The Swift Arrow* supplements the tribe's own *Wisconsin Winnebago Newsletter.* A small Baptist church of Winnebago members is located at Wisconsin Dells.

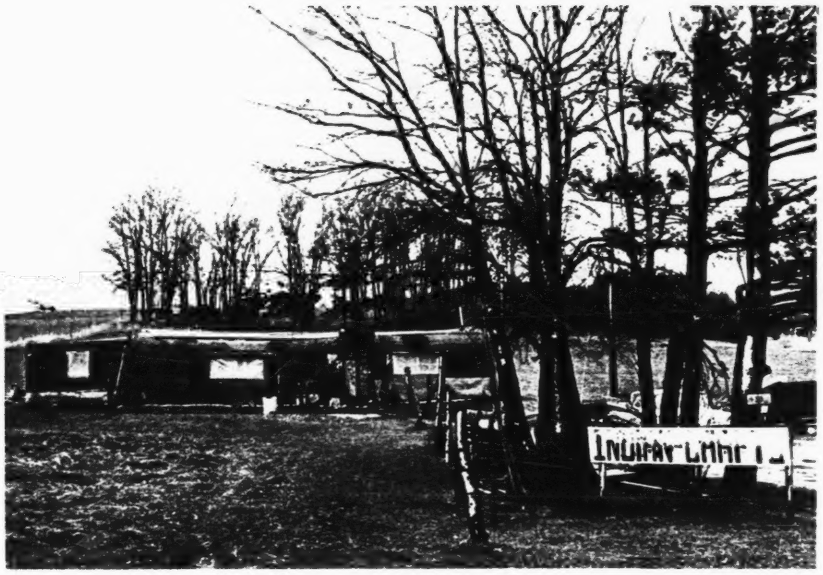


Photo from Dept. of Agric. Journ.—U.W. News Services

Winnebago Chief Frank Thunder and his wife live in this hogan they built themselves along side of Highway 12 in Jackson county.

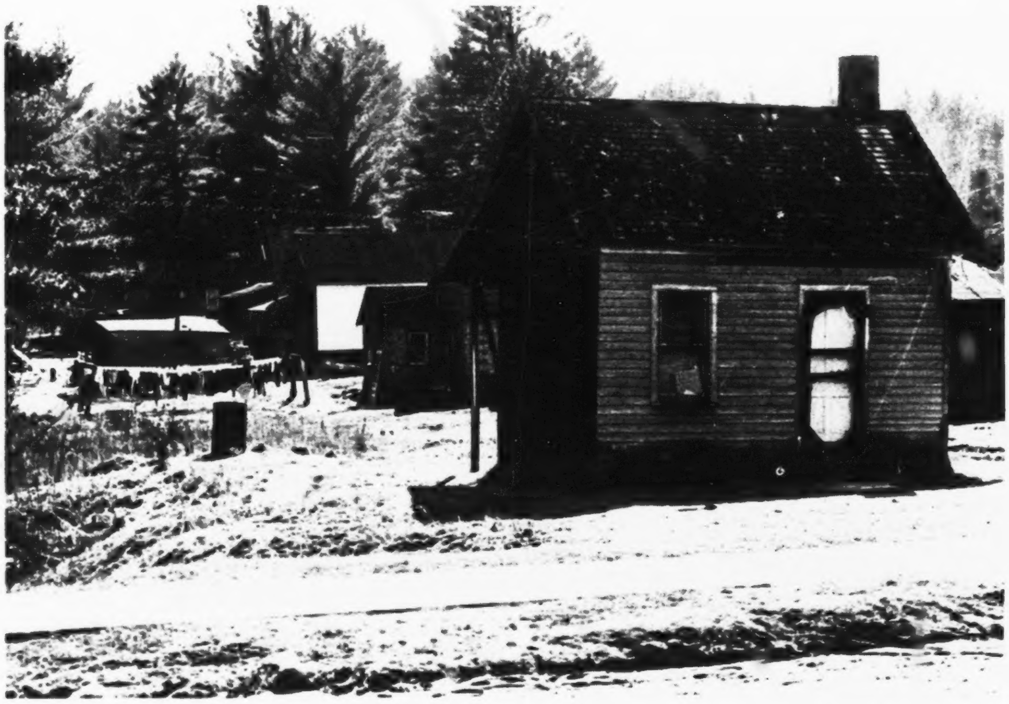
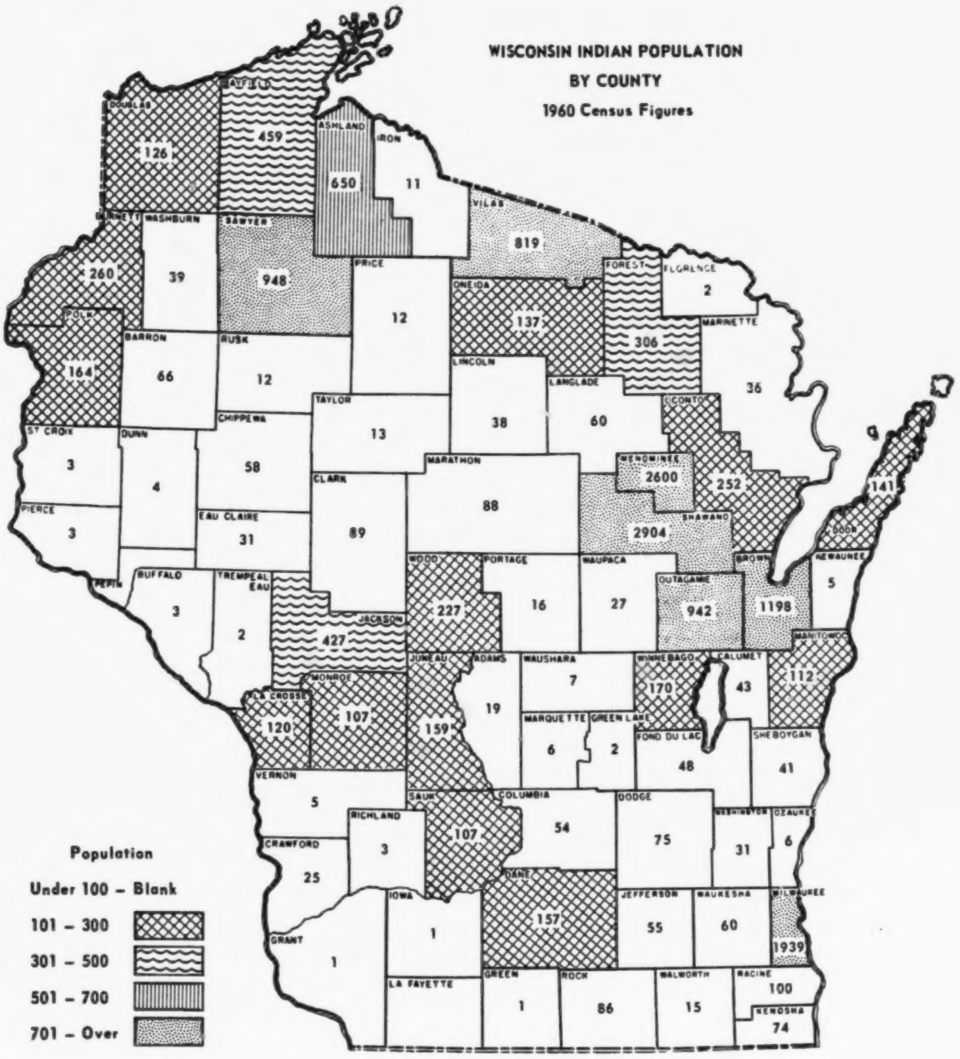


Photo from Governor's Commission on Human Rights

These houses at Neopit in Menominee county generally lack plumbing and insulation. Less than one-third of all units in the county are in sound condition. One-third are deteriorated and one-third considered dilapidated. These are considered in the middle category.



WISCONSIN INDIAN POPULATION
BY COUNTY
1960 Census Figures

DOUGLAS
126
BAYFIELD
459
ASHLAND
650
IRON
11
VILAS
819
BURNETT
260
WASHBURN
39
SAWYER
948
PRICE
12
ONEIDA
137
FOREST
306
FLORENCE
2
MARINETTE
36
POLK
164
BARRON
66
RUSK
12
TAYLOR
13
LINCOLN
38
LANGLADE
60
OCONTO
252
DOOR
141
ST CROIX
3
DUNN
4
CHIPPEWA
58
MARATHON
88
MENOMINEE
2600
SHAWANO
2904
PIERCE
3
EAU CLAIRE
31
CLARK
89
PEPIN
BUFFALO
3
TREMPEALEAU
2
JACKSON
427
WOOD
227
PORTAGE
16
WAUPACA
27
OUTAGAMIE
942
BROWN
1198
KEWAUNEE
5
MONROE
107
LA CROSSE
120
JUNEAU
159
ADAMS
19
WAUSHARA
7
WINNEBAGO
170
CALUMET
43
MANITOWOC
112
MARQUETTE
6
GREEN LAKE
2
FOND DU LAC
48
SHEBOYGAN
41
VERNON
5
SAUK
107
COLUMBIA
54
DODGE
75
WASHINGTON
31
OZAUKEE
6
RICHLAND
3
CRAWFORD
25
DANE
157
JEFFERSON
55
WAUKESHA
60
MILWAUKEE
1939
IOWA
1
GRANT
1
LA FAYETTE
GREEN
1
ROCK
86
WALWORTH
15
RACINE
100
KENOSHA
74
Population
Under 100 – Blank
101 – 300
301 – 500
501 – 700
701 – Over

The Menominee Indians

The Menominee Indians represent a special category in Wisconsin. They are no longer regarded as Indians by the federal government. Thus, unlike other bands, they are not eligible for aid under trusteeship status. They are full fledged citizens of Wisconsin with all the rights and responsibilities of any other people settled within the boundaries of the state. But the Menominees, in contrast to other ethnic groups, have other than cultural ties binding them together today and setting them apart. They have their own county—the 72nd in Wisconsin—and their own government; they have their own industry and are stockholders in the Menominee Enterprises; and they have their own special set of problems, economic and social, which qualify them for the beyond-the-ordinary attention which has been given them already and will continue to be devoted to them.

History

When the French explorers and fur traders first came to Wisconsin in the mid-seventeenth century, they encountered a peaceful tribe of woodland Indians, hunters and fishermen and gatherers of wild rice, whom they called the Menomini. The French influence was strong and it is apparent today in the many French names of Menominee families and in the predominantly Roman Catholic faith of the tribal members.

With the westward migration of the American colonists, Menominee lands were ceded by a series of treaties to the newcomers. The famed Menominee chief, Oshkosh, acted for the tribe in these negotiations and is credited generally with preventing the removal of the Menominees to Minnesota, obtaining instead a final treaty in 1854, which gave them an area of 12 townships or 276,480 acres of forested land. Two years later two of the townships in the southwestern corner were allotted to the Stockbridge-Munsee Indians, leaving a final total of 233,902 acres for the Menominee reservation.

In the years that followed, two factors stand out as contributing decisively to the well-being of the tribe. First, following the General Allotment Act of 1887, when other Indians were losing their properties through sale of their lands and inability to pay taxes, the Menominee leaders rejected the allotment system and elected to hold the lands in common under tribal rule. The reservation therefore remained intact and, as a single parcel of land, it qualified for special legislative attention. Second, in 1908 Congress passed the LaFollette Act establishing for the Menominees a selective logging operation on a sustained yield basis. A forestry survey showed that 20,000,000 board feet of selected timber could be cut each year without in any way decreasing the overall supply of trees. With the careful planting of new trees and the cutting of mature ones, the total amount of standing timber on the reservation has remained approximately the same as it was in 1908. This act also authorized the use of tribal funds for a modern sawmill which was built the following year at Neopit, replacing the former 60 year old mill and becoming the chief source of support for tribal members.

In 1951 an award of eight and one-half million dollars to the tribe set in motion events which led just a few years later to termination of all federal control over the Menominees. The Court of Claims award, based on the

Menominee claim that the government had mismanaged the sawmill operations, could not be released without Congressional appropriation. However, when Congress reviewed the proposal of a per capita payment of $1,500 to tribal members as their share of the eight and one-half million dollars, it was made clear that they could not expect payment unless they accepted an amendment terminating federal supervision. Subsequently in a general council meeting the Menominees voted 169 to 5 in favor of the principle of termination.

The original Menominee Termination Act of 1954 set December 31, 1958 as the final termination date. The deadline was later extended to April 30, 1961.

Termination

The ending of all federal supervision and responsibility for the Menominees caused a major impact not merely on the Indians, but on the state of Wisconsin as well. This group of 2,500 Indians, long isolated from the mainstream of the culture about them, with little responsibility for their own affairs—ill-housed, underemployed, poorly educated, and, as it turned out, in poor health—was now expected to move ahead to self-government and self-support. Adjudged among the most prosperous of all tribes in the country, still the fact was that in comparison to the non-Indians around them they represented a community of dire poverty.

The seven years during which the tribe prepared for independence and the state arranged to accept this new group of citizens into Wisconsin political and economic life were characterized by innumerable surveys and planning projects. The result was an orderly transferral of governmental authority and responsibility from federal officials to state and county representatives on the one hand, and to private management of the mill and forest operation on the other. The reservation formerly located in Oconto and Shawano counties was, by popular vote of the Menominees and by legislative enactment, made into Wisconsin's 72nd county.

Most tangled and perplexing of all problems facing the Menominees was the question of the ownership and future of the mill operations. The establishment of the Menominee Enterprises with stock certificates and income bonds held by enrolled tribal members—but controlled by a board of directors composed of both Indians and non-Indians—proved to be a practical and workable solution. Because the corporation had to bear more than 90 per cent of the total county taxes, it was more than obvious that the affairs of Menominee county and Menominee Enterprises were totally interdependent and interlocked. The relationship of these two controlling units had to be delicately regulated to ensure management policies which would serve the best interests of both and avoid conflicts of interest between public and private groups.

Population and Land

Menominee county covers 233, 902 acres of heavily forested land in northeastern Wisconsin. It is the largest single tract of virgin timber still standing in the state, a magnificent area of towering pines and rushing waters of the Wolf River. The four unincorporated villages of Keshena, Neopit, Zoar and South Branch are combined into a single township, the boundaries of which are the same as those of the county. Keshena and Neopit are the major population centers.

The tribal rolls as of March 1956 listed 3,252 members of whom nearly 700 lived off the reservation, mainly in urban centers such as Milwaukee, Chicago and Detroit. Only 75 of the members were counted as full blooded Indians in 1952.

A 1964 survey lists 2,526 county residents, of whom 57 per cent are under 19 years old and 5 per cent over 65. Thus the balance of 38 per cent, or 960 persons, comprise the labor force in the county. The family units in the county total 496 with an average of five children per family.

Economic Resources

Menominee Enterprises is the largest single employer in the county with approximately 250 full-time workers at the mill and in the woods at an average income of $3,760, and 170 part-time at an annual income of $1,100. In 1965 the corporation provided about 95 per cent of the earned income in the county. The county itself employs close to 40 men, mainly in administrative and highway work. There are few other sources of regular jobs in the county, making it evident that out of a labor force of 960, less than half have steady employment. The unemployment rate in 1964 was set at 18 per cent and the median family income was below $3,000.

Since there are practically no business establishments, such as super markets, department stores, garages or banks, most of the people's earnings are spent outside the county. The steady outward flow of money means that there is little of the multiplier effect of spending essential to any economy.

To improve its economic position after termination, the Enterprises undertook a program of modernization and expansion. A reappraisal of the forest potential led in 1961 to a doubling of the amount of board feet of timber which could be cut each year. Unfortunately, the resulting increase in production and sales has not led to a corresponding increase in employment, although the net profits to the corporation have grown larger each year.

Prospects for attracting additional industrial development to the county are not considered promising, mainly because the county lacks a minimum of services to attract commercial enterprises. Good housing areas are limited and local leadership does not have the experience or capital to assist in new ventures. Nevertheless, within the past few years, local residents have obtained 16 loans from governmental sources for the development of small businesses.

A land development program with emphasis on recreation probably offers the major hope for the future. Leasing of sites for summer and year round homes will not only bring in new capital and customer potential but it will also increase the county tax base. As of September 1965, 97 such lease purchase agreements had been signed. Proposals for developing the county into park and forest recreational areas have been made by both federal and state officials. Meanwhile the Department of Resource Development of the state of Wisconsin, the Northern Wisconsin Development Project of the University of Wisconsin and the Wolf River Basin Regional Planning Commission are continuing in 1966 to explore new areas of increased economic opportunity.

Currently underway in 1966 is a Congressional study investigating possibilities of a planned resort area which would bring the tourist dollar into the county, but at the same time protect the land from haphazard and undesirable development. A bill calling for the preservation of the Wolf River as scenic waterway is also under state legislative scrutiny.

Governmental Organization

To establish a new county equipped to carry out the everyday duties of police protection, welfare services, health and sanitary supervision and the administration of tax levies is no light undertaking. But to accomplish this in an area which is admittedly impoverished, where unemployment is high and the tax base rests on a single industry, presented problems without precedent.

To meet the difficulties of a county without lawyers or similar professional people, Menominee was attached to Shawano county for legal purposes, including the services of the courts, district attorney and detention facilities. The new county pays all expenses involved as well as a percentage of the salaries of the district attorney and the family court commissioner.

A seven member county board of supervisors with concurrent membership on the town board was established, with Keshena designated as the county seat. Financial problems were the foremost concern. Because at the time of termination only 1.6 per cent of the homes in the county had an assessed valuation of $6,000 or more, it was evident that the corporation would bear almost the entire burden of property taxation. Today 92 per cent of the annual state, county, town and school district taxes levied in Menominee county are paid by the company. This makes clear the deep interrelationship of the Enterprises and the county and emphasizes the fact that profits from the corporation must be kept high in order to finance the county government. Since property taxes increased 68 per cent from 1963 to 1965 while earnings before taxes increased only 46 per cent, it is only too obvious that the financial situation is precarious.

Housing

Poor housing is one of the critical problems in the county. Less than one-third of all units in the county are in sound condition, one-third are in deteriorated condition and one-third are dilapidated. Sanitation is not good. Although pipe lines for water and sewage extend through Keshena and Neopit, not all the houses are connected. Only 44 per cent have indoor plumbing and only 55 per cent have running water in their homes. A considerable number of families have no source of water on the premises and must haul it for some distance.

In the past four years F.H.A. has made 40 new housing loans and 11 housing grants for $1,000 each in the county. The formation of the Menominee Housing Authority in July 1966 now paves the way for application to the Public Housing Administration for low cost housing units. It is hoped that as a beginning 25 units will be built in Keshena and 25 in Neopit.

Health

After termination, when the new county became a part of District No. 6 of the State Board of Health, intensive tuberculosis case findings were initiated, with the result that county TB costs skyrocketed from $12,400 in 1961 to $65,000 four years later. Skin tests in the spring of 1965 showed that 60 per cent of all residents reacted positively, in contrast to a figure of 20 per cent for Wisconsin residents as a whole. To assist the county in meeting this emergency, the state legislature granted an unprecedented $80,000 appropriation to the Menominees in 1964. The diabetes rate, 20 times higher for the Menominees than for the general population, is also cause for concern.

Overall, the mortality rate among the Menominees is considerably higher than it is for the rest of the state's citizens. A greater incidence of disease, an appalling number of fatal auto accidents, and a general failure to seek medical help except in emergencies, are major contributing causes.

A survey in 1965 revealed that 93 per cent of all Menominee children between 5 and 19 needed dental care. The State Board of Health approved a grant of $10,000 to be matched by an equal sum from the U.S. Children's Bureau to meet these needs. This dental work began in the spring of 1966.

Hospital care is no longer available in the county, inasmuch as the tribally operated Catholic hospital was closed soon after termination due to the fact that it did not meet state standards. There is no resident doctor in the county, although the county board has employed a public health nurse since 1960 and the State Board of Health has financed a second nurse since July 1965. At present, medical and hospital care are available in neighboring communities, but financing the costs of such care presents a major problem to the individual family.

Education

There are four grade schools in the county, two public and two parochial. High school students go by bus to Shawano. Menominees are eligible for the vocational training scholarships and for the college scholarships offered by the state of Wisconsin. Out of a total of 54 college scholarships offered in the 1965-1966 school year, ten of the recipients were Menominee students.

The Community Action Program for Menominee county, first granted funds by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity in May 1965, has placed special emphasis on educational activities. Menominee children participated in a summer nursery school in the summer of 1965, in an "upward bound" college preparatory six-week session at Ripon College, in special training and remedial courses offered in elementary schools, and in afterschool study centers. Year around recreational programs are now offered to teenagers. Six VISTA volunteers have helped with these projects. In 1965 a Neighborhood Youth Corps program provided summer work for 65 young people and winter employment for 31. By November of 1965 the total CAP program expenditures for Menominee county were $182,804.

Other groups have also worked with the Menominees, notably the Wisconsin Indian Summer Project college volunteers, the Friends of the Menominees from Wausau, the University YMCA in Madison and Peace Corps volunteers in training at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Welfare

One of the first actions of the Menominee county board was the creation of the Menominee County Department of Public Welfare and the provision for the transfer of this function from Shawano county. By October 1962 the agency had a director, a public assistance worker, a child welfare worker and one clerical assistant. At the same time the Division of Children and Youth, using federal funds, began a demonstration project to illustrate the value of a sound child welfare program provided locally by trained social workers. This demonstration program will end in 1967. The present staff of the welfare department consists of seven caseworkers, two homemakers, four clerical workers in addition to the welfare director and casework supervisor. Administration costs approximated $40,000 in 1965, but with state and federal funds bearing the larger proportion, net costs to the county were not as high as might be expected.

In 1965 approximately one out of every 40 persons in the state of Wisconsin received some form of public assistance; in the same year in Menominee county one out of every six persons was receiving some kind of aid. The average cost per Menominee of $7.43 was over four times the average of the state cost as a whole. The following figures show the distribution of the aid in the month of September, 1965:

Program	*Number of Persons*	*Amount*
Aid to Dependent Children	258	$10,092.57
Aid to Dependent Children in Foster Homes	55	2,592.82
Old-Age Assistance	43	3,588.37
Aid to the Disabled	28	2,938.40
Aid to the Blind	5	351.50
General Relief	37	502.35
Total	426	$20,066.01

Federal and state grants assumed the major burden of the costs:

Government	*Amount*	*Per Cent*
Federal	$10,127.74	50.5%
State	6,402.59	31.9%
County and Town	3,535.68	17.6%
	$20,066.01	100.0%

It is worth noting that the aid of dependent children has more than tripled since termination. This in no way indicates that the problem has become more acute. Rather it shows that the need of these children has been discovered through individual casework. The earlier the problems of neglect are encountered, the greater the chances are that they can be dealt with successfully. Money spent on prevention lowers the total costs in the long run.

Looking to the future, when it will no longer be necessary to deal only with emergencies on a salvaging basis, the county welfare department plans an increase in preventative type service.

To aid county residents in meeting their own welfare needs, the Wisconsin legislature established a special fund of one million dollars in December 1963 to enable Menominees to borrow money, pledging their Enterprises income bonds as security. These bonds, worth $3,000 each and earning four per cent a year, had been issued to the people as their share in the Enterprises. To prevent the dissipation of these bonds among outside interests, the law provided this alternative to selling the bonds. The State Department of Public Welfare, which administers this program, now holds bonds valued in excess of $1.7 million.

The Future

During the ten year period from 1955 to 1965 the legislature enacted 22 bills and passed eight joint resolutions pertaining to the Menominees. Most of this legislation has resulted from the work of the Menominee Indian Study Committee which was established in 1955 to study the transition problems and make specific legislative proposals. The committee's ten year report published in April 1966 recommended the development of a long-range plan by state, federal and county officials to assist the Menominees to achieve lasting economic and social stability. At the same time solution to the immediate needs for capital, industry, jobs and government leadership should be sought.

A bill is now pending before Congress which would aid in the achievement of the long-range goals. The Nelson-Laird bill was drafted to provide ten years of support for education, health and welfare, to finance careful economic planning, and to grant the long-term loans needed to establish a stable economy. Specifically the bill calls for almost $2.9 million in grants and $5 million in long-term loans to the county. This bill would in effect recognize the obligation of the federal government to aid in bringing Menominee county up to acceptable state standards after having turned over what amounted to a deficit area to the state. While this bill itself may not become law, it is hoped that individual provisions and grants will achieve the same purpose.

In any summation of the present and the future of the county, foremost consideration and importance must be given to the Menominees themselves. Their record of accomplishment, despite the sometimes bitter conflict and factionalism, has been a good one. The county and town boards are directing a multi-million dollar governmental operation with responsibility and imagination. The Enterprises are showing increasing profits with the years. While many of the Indians were initially opposed to termination and were unhappy with the proceedings, and others showed indifference to their new responsibilities of self-government, nevertheless the great majority of Menominees have worked together for their own self-improvement. They have taken major strides in health, housing, education and economic welfare. As Indians they have rapidly adapted themselves to a new way of life. To expect them to move at a faster pace or to conform completely to the white man's ways, is neither reasonable nor realistic. The Menominees have already shown determination and courage in dealing with termination. For the years to come they will need not only financial and economic aid, but also general understanding and cooperation as they strive to achieve a secure life in Wisconsin.

Indians In Milwaukee

Next to Menominee county, Milwaukee county has the highest number of Indian residents in the state, approximately 2,000. The three major groups are the Oneidas, Chippewas and Menominees, all coming to the city in search of jobs or of additional vocational training. While they may maintain their status as members of individual tribes, from the standpoint of the Bureau of Indian Affairs they no longer are entitled to the privileges of the reservation Indians, although they are free at any time to return to the reservation. Many of the Indians work in the city until retirement, when they return to their former homes. Some commute to and from the reservations or, they may even commute on weekends. The Milwaukee Indians are in fairly low economic circumstances; generally, however, they have steady employment and are not on public assistance as may be the case on the reservation.

In order to keep their cohesiveness, Milwaukee Indians formed over 30 years ago an organization called the Consolidated Tribes of American Indians. This group provides aid to the newcomers and serves as a focal point of social activities. The organization is a member of the Inter-Tribal Council. There is also a special group, The Chippewa Club, formed especially for Chippewa tribal members.

TABLE I
REFERENCE TABLE ON POPULATION AND ACREAGE
1966

Reservation or Community	*Present Population*	*Allotted Acres*	*Tribal Acres*	*Total*
Bad River	332	34,905.00	7,300.00	42,205.00
Lac Courte Oreilles	793	26,989.69	3,008.95	29,998.64
Lac du Flambeau	883	13,137.67	16,695.15	29,832.82
Mole Lake	109			1,680.00
Red Cliff	310	2,225.34	5,096.00	7,321.34
St. Croix	306			1,750.00
Oneida	399	533.60	2,099.52	2,633.12
Potawatomi	195	640.00	11,146.00	11,786.00
*Stockbridge-Munsee	380	328.16	2,239.86	2,568.02
*Winnebago	1,139	3,849.00	40.00	3,889.00
Total	4,846			133,663.94

*Stockbridge-Munsee—13,077,22 acres under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Agriculture but, nevertheless, are considered part of the Stockbridge-Munsee reservation.

*Winnebago—There are estimated to be 1,800 Winnebagos in rural Wisconsin; the majority live on non-allotted lands.

All figures are based on Bureau of Indian Affairs statistics. The population figures represent only actual reservation or community residents; not included are the urban Indians and those Indians not eligible for or not claiming federal benefits.

General Welfare

Education

The Drop Out Problem

It is generally true that in proportion to their numbers more Indian than white students drop out of high school before graduation. Contrary to popular opinion, however, as a recent study[1] shows, the race or ethnic group to which the drop outs belong is not the controlling factor. Attitudes of both Indian parents and their children are similar to those of non-Indians in the same socio-economic group. At the heart of the drop out problem is the prevalence of poverty among those who do not continue in school.

Since general economic sufficiency cannot be achieved over night, immediate and creative steps have been taken to ward off drop outs among Indian students. Tribal councils have offered financial incentive to students who graduate from high school (Lac du Flambeau); they have sponsored compulsory after dinner study halls in centrally-heated, well-lighted community centers (Winnebago). The schools have added full-time guidance counselors to their staffs to work specifically on the drop out problem (Lakeland, serving Lac du Flambeau); they have initiated meetings of families of potential drop outs with the staff and teachers (Wabeno, serving the Potawatomi). The state departments most closely concerned, the Department of Public Instruction and the Division of Children and Youth in the Department of Public Welfare, have emphasized a continuing and realistic effort to develop better understanding of the Indian student and his problems. This takes into account not only his need for better clothing and a quiet room in which to study, but also the fact that he is torn between two cultures. He is a part of both his environments, his home and his school. If his teachers can understand the great gulf that he must bridge when he faces the middle class, suburban-oriented school system and at the same time see the worth in his Indian heritage, then the chances are better that he will complete his education.

Improved Educational Opportunities

The following is a partial listing of various projects undertaken in Wisconsin in the past years for the benefit of Indian students:

- Summer, 1964—Pigeon Lake Summer Reading Project for Indian Students. Sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Wisconsin State University at Superior, this course was designed for potential drop outs due to academic handicaps. For one month the 26 students aided by eight staff members lived and studied together; at the conclusion of the course, tests showed that the average level had improved as much as two grades in areas of reading, comprehension and vocabulary.

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[1] *Study of Voluntary School Drop Outs in the Lakeland High School District,* State Department of Public Welfare, March 1965.

- Summer, 1964, 1965—Summer School Demonstration Project, Indian Mission, Black River Falls. The aim of these projects was to demonstrate that the elementary school children, despite their backgrounds of poverty, could be challenged and motivated to learn at a high level.

- Summer, 1963, 1964, 1965—Wisconsin Indian Summer Project. This program was started by a group of students from Harvard and Radcliffe, later joined by Wisconsin college students, who brought to the young people of the Wisconsin Indian reservations stimulating summer recreational programs. Teams were at Bad River and Lac Courte Oreilles in 1963, at Oneida, Red Cliff and the Winnebago Black River Falls Mission in 1964, and at Mole Lake, Oneida, Wittenberg, Neillsville and Menominee county in 1965.

- Summer, 1965—Upward Bound, the Ripon College Summer Program. The purpose of this six week program was to give to Indian boys, mainly Menominee, but including some Chippewa, Winnebago and Oneida, stimulation to persist and excel in the academic world, while building their own self-image and developing a pride in their Indian culture.

- Summer, 1964, 1965—Lac du Flambeau Special Summer Enrichment Program. Sponsored jointly by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Lac du Flambeau Board of Education, this consisted of special reading instruction for 72 students. Work in the first three grades was emphasized as was preparation for entering high school.

- Spring, 1964—Work Study Program at Bad River. Ten students at Northland College in Ashland worked with high school students at Bad River on a special tutorial basis.

These programs have all contributed to the educational progress of the Indian students; more of them will be needed in the future.

Opportunities for Higher Education

Indian students have a wide choice of educational opportunities after graduation from high school. The federal government offers extensive vocational training at Haskell Institute in Kansas, at the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma, at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe and the Indian School of Practical Nursing in Albuquerque. In addition, some scholarships are available from the Bureau of Indian Affairs for college training, and some financial support for general vocational training.

The state has two programs for aiding Wisconsin Indian young people:

- the college scholarship program, administered by the Department of Public Instruction, making it possible for any Indian student in the upper two-thirds of his high school class to attend a Wisconsin university.

- the vocational grant program, administered by the State Board of Vocational, Technical and Adult Education, giving support of $20 per week to students attending vocational schools.

Economic Resources

In 1966 the per capita income on the ten Wisconsin Indian reservations was less than $750. The basis then of their problems today is not the fact that the residents are Indian but that they are impoverished. They have poor housing and poor health and they depend upon welfare aids. If they could get jobs, if they had steady incomes, these problems would become insignificant. But the areas of northern Wisconsin in which the Indians live do not now offer opportunities for steady year round employment. A number of these northern counties reflect a declining population and a lack of basic services. Overall, these are depressed counties which are not in a strong position to help themselves, let alone give aid and support to residents of federal non-taxable lands within their county boundaries. To find solutions to the economic quandary of the Indians is not simple. It is easy to prescribe greater industrial and resource development for the area and additional vocational and educational training for the inhabitants, but to see this translated into action is not easy.

Reservation Resources

The natural assets of the larger reservations are vast. The Red Cliff, Lac Courte Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, Bad River, Stockbridge-Munsee and Potawatomi lands all have magnificent areas of wilderness. In varying degrees they provide considerable revenue to the tribes from their large stands of timber. The tribal council gains through selling the stumpage and the individual members through their income as hired loggers or jobbers. Where Bureau of Indian Affairs foresters maintain headquarters and are available for constant supervision and advice on cutting according to forest management plans, the logging income is good. But greater support is needed in this area. For example, in 1965 following the installation of a forester at Wabeno to serve the Potawatomi tribe, the income from forestry increased by 800 per cent. There is of course a point of diminishing returns in providing more personnel in a limited land area; at the present time, however, this point does not seem to have been reached. Nevertheless, as a source of sufficient income for the Indians, the reservation forests are not adequate. Only in the case of Menominee county, which has virgin timber and the Enterprises-owned sawmill, can the forest begin to provide a liveable basis of support for the Indian resident—and even here, as we have seen, the support is not enough for the number of people dependent upon it.

Therefore, it is evident that if the natural resources of the reservation are to be used to their fullest potential, a different approach must be taken. That approach should be toward wide recreational development. Such a development would include an expansion of existing facilities to attract summer tourists and completely new construction of facilities to bring in winter sports and leisure-seeking enthusiasts. At present only the Lac du Flambeau reservation benefits substantially from summer tourists through leasing of lands and offering tourist oriented services. The other areas have many casual visitors during the summer months, but they benefit hardly at all from the tourist dollar because they have no small businesses, not even restaurants of any size, to bring in outside money. Thus, the employment the Indians are able to obtain in the summer is from periodic resort work and guiding offered by non-Indian entrepreneurs.

Lac Courte Oreilles Indians have been substantially helped by the development of the ski area at Mount Telemark and the subsequent booming economy at nearby Hayward. This activity has given a great boost to the welfare of the entire area. If this could be duplicated and adapted to the varying topographical and natural assets of the different reservations, the more nearly year round employment which would then be available would help to put the Indians and, indeed, the surrounding areas on sound economic footing.

Developments of this nature cost a great deal of money. They must be wisely planned at the outset and carefully managed thereafter. However, with an overall resource development plan aiming at eventual economic self-sufficiency, the beginnings could be modest. Small business loans to help establish stores and restaurants and barber shops would be needed first steps to accompany promotion of the areas as vacation spots. At the same time greater attention should be given to expansion of the reservation road systems so that more land can be opened up for development.

Heirship Land

A problem yet unresolved which has hampered land use on reservations is the heirship problem. This situation has developed through the division of an original land allotment by an Indian among his heirs and then further division among the next generation of heirs. By the time the third generation has come along, the land is owned by so many different persons that an economic return is made totally impossible because the consent of all the heirs must be obtained for use of the land. The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintains a realty staff to investigate heirship cases and reach the heirs to obtain consent for disposal of their share. Federal legislation is needed in this field. If, for example, there were more than ten heirs owning a single plot of land, it would be reasonable to require that only 25 per cent of the heirs be required to give their consent to a specific land usage.

Industrial Resources

Promotion of industry in northern Wisconsin is not limited to the Indian areas. On the basis of actual work experience it should be recognized, however, that reservations offer to a prospective employer advantages that can produce a profitable enterprise. The electric meter producing plant at the Lac du Flambeau reservation is a case in point. This manufacturing plant, established in 1946, currently employs 90 tribal members. That the plant is successful is due in part to the location on an Indian reservation. The labor supply is stable and there is no competition from other employers. The manual dexterity of the Indian employees, especially the women, is outstanding. The costs of doing business are lower in this area than they would be in an urban setting.

It is undeniable that would-be employers have been reluctant to locate in Indian communities because of fears that Indian employees would not be reliable. Unfortunately, a small minority of Indians have caused this image. The employment records both at the Menominee Enterprises and at the Lac du Flambeau meter plant bear out the fact that the great majority of the workers are steady and responsible employees.

Arts and Crafts

Because suitable markets now exist and much larger markets could be established for authentic Indian handcrafted items of quality, there has been a revival of interest among Wisconsin tribes in the economic possibilities of the arts and crafts. The Stockbridge-Munsee Indians, aided by the joint efforts of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, the University Extension Division and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, organized in 1963 a crafts project based on the individual production of woven goods and jewelry. The project today is small but successful. Sales of the items produced have been no problem. Similarly, the Winnebago Handcraft Cooperative, organized to aid in marketing the native baskets and other items, has proved effective. On the Chippewa reservations skilled Indian craftsmen still produce deerskin clothes and moccasins, intricate beaded jewelry, and even birchbark canoes.

Most of this crafts work, however, can only be considered as income supplements. At the present time, unless commercial guidance and financial support can be provided to the Indians, these items cannot be produced in such quantity as to provide economic independence.

Vocational Training

The opportunities for vocational training for Wisconsin Indians are practically limitless. State and federal programs provide extensive coverage. But this is not the problem. The crux of the matter lies in the fact that the training is for urban type jobs. Thus, if an Indian is to make use of this training, he must leave his home and his community. And here is the dilemma. The Wisconsin Indian does not lightly leave his reservation. He would much prefer to stay if there were any chance of employment there.

This leads back then to the ultimate necessity of development of the natural and industrial potential of the reservations and of northern Wisconsin itself. Without this development the Indians will continue to be a burden to themselves and to their communities.

Photo from Dept. of Agric. Journ.—U.W. News Service

Mrs. Thunder, wife of Winnebago Chief Frank Thunder, is shown in her hogan making some of the traditional Indian decorative hangings. She and her husband partially support themselves through their crafts work.

Health

Indian health is approximately a generation behind that of the non-Indian population in Wisconsin. Indians have a higher death rate from tuberculosis, pneumonia, diabetes and automobile accidents. Poverty accounts for this poor health record. Substandard housing, primitive sanitation and inadequate food make good health a difficult and distant goal. At the same time, the picture is not wholly black. Indian deaths due to cancer, heart disease, and cerebral hemorrhage are considerably below the rate for the general population.

Health Problems

- Dental problems are one of the most pressing medical needs faced by the Indians. Only emergency treatment is available to most adult Indians, although recipients of public assistance may be given aid. While school children receive dental checkups, the recommended treatment does not always follow.
- Drinking is an acute problem among the Indians. It has been only 13 years since the prohibition of the Indian's right to drink was removed. Possibly it takes longer than a generation to learn the proper use of alcohol. Nevertheless, medicine, social work and education should all be brought to bear in a concerted effort to meet this problem head-on. Whether drinking is caused by a demoralized poverty, or whether it is one of the causes of the poverty, is not at issue. The fact is that the cycle must be broken and the young people must be given every encouragement to avoid involvement.
- Lack of an awareness of medical need and of services available remains a real threat to good health. While county nurses receive, on the whole, excellent cooperation from the Indians, they know that the Indian population in general is still hesitant about applying for help until an emergency. They also find that transportation from rural wooded home sites into towns for appointments with doctors or dentists is often times impossible, that recommended medication is too expensive for non-existent budgets; and that lack of water and sanitary facilities makes home nursing care very difficult.
- When an Indian woman marries a non-Indian, her children are considered ineligible for Indian health benefits, even though they may be one-half Indian. This restriction has worked many hardships on the children, especially in cases where the father has deserted his family. This federal restriction is not only unfair, but extremely unwise and shortsighted.

Health Services Available to Indians

- The Public Health Service, Indian Health Office, provides health services to Indians who are unable to pay for them. Because there is no federal hospital or special medical program in Wisconsin, the Health Service contracts for the provision of medical care with private physicians and the public health nurses in the counties of sizeable Indian populations.

- County public health nurses carry out testing, immunizing, and control programs with emphasis on prevention and on home demonstration and education.

- The State Board of Health has an overall concern for Indian health. It is not directly responsible, as is the federal government, but it watches closely the health of all Wisconsin's residents. Sanitarians, nutritionists and public health nurses all work with the Indians in the state.

Evaluation of Health Services

After termination of federal control over the Menominees, surveys by the State Board of Health showed that the health of the Menominees was shockingly below that of the general population, despite the fact that there had been a hospital on the reservation and nursing and medical care available. This would seem to indicate that preventive medicine with constant surveillance through testing and immunization was not sufficiently practiced. If tomorrow the state of Wisconsin were to assume complete responsibility for Indian health, would these same conditions be revealed?

It is extremely difficult to assure adequate medical care for scattered groups of Indians in different locations throughout Wisconsin. The Public Health Service, charged with this responsibility, has no medical office in Wisconsin; the area office is in Bemidji, Minnesota, and the regional office in Aberdeen, South Dakota. Thus the medical care is delegated on a contract basis. While the Indians may receive adequate care in emergencies, only county nurses and school nurses offer the education and the public health control work essential to a climate of good health. Only five of the county nurses are actually under contract to spend time with Indian communities; the rest of the county nurses provide nursing care to the Indians as they would to any county resident needing the care. It is an ironic fact that migrant workers who come into the state are frequently better off than the native Indians. The Board of Health requires that the camps be provided with electricity, wash sinks, shower facilities, hot and cold running water — facilities that most Indian communities do not have.

Observers have suggested that Indian health could be improved

- through greater federal, state and local cooperation on alleviating immediate problems of housing and sanitation.

- by provision of more public health services which would bring a background of acceptance among the Indians of modern medical and hygienic practices.

- by an intensive program of preventive medicine to eliminate problems before they arise.

- by training Indian young people to work in their own communities instead of relocating the cream of the crop away from the reservations.

Housing

It is uniformly true that housing for Wisconsin Indians is extremely poor. Generally, the homes lack plumbing and sanitation, are inadequately insulated, offer little or no privacy, do not have furnaces and are much too small for the needs of the family. These homes offer shelter, but little of the dignities or comforts of modern life.

While casual observation might indicate that the Indian himself could do much to improve his own housing, the situation, as one might expect, is not as simple as it looks. In most cases the Indian does not own the house or the land on which it stands. This lack of ownership coupled with the fact that the house was government built originally has caused the Indian to think that the government has the responsibility of maintenance. Since the house belongs to the government, the Indian is merely a tenant who suffers from the lack of adequate repair but has no responsibility himself. Further, not only does a psychological barrier act against the improvement of the housing, but most important, lack of money prevents even minor alterations. When the daily need for groceries (paid for out of hopelessly small incomes) is balanced against the high cost of repairs, any other demand must wait.

To meet the critical need on Wisconsin Indian reservations, a three million dollar housing program was authorized in 1965. Under sponsorship of the Public Housing Authority, 90 low income rental units are being built in the spring of 1966 at Lac du Flambeau, Oneida, Bad River, Stockbridge-Munsee and Red Cliff. Additional mutual self-help homes are scheduled for construction in May and July 1966 on these same reservations, excluding the Stockbridge. Because the Winnebago tribe does not qualify for aid under the PHA, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is backing housing support for them to the extent of 20 units.

In addition to this public aid, a privately sponsored experimental project among the St. Croix Indians has proved successful. A local priest, with a grant from his archbishop, financed new homes for three Indian families at minimal unit cost. The Indians did their own work on the three bedroom, concrete block structures. Providing their own labor meant not only a substantial saving in cost, but it also gave a pride of home ownership to the Indian families. It also resulted in a new sense of responsibility, a feeling for thrift, and a desire for a better economic life. This imaginative approach, this departure from the old paternalism, offers a new hope for genuine improvement.

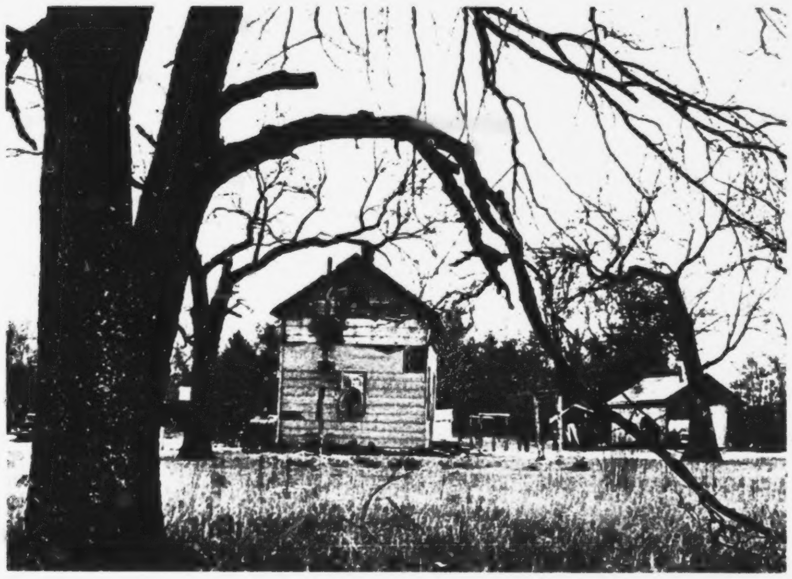

Photo from Dept. of Agric. Journ.—U.W. News Service

Most of the houses, as this one, on the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation are frame, shiplap and tarpaper construction without modern plumbing. Better housing is acutely needed.

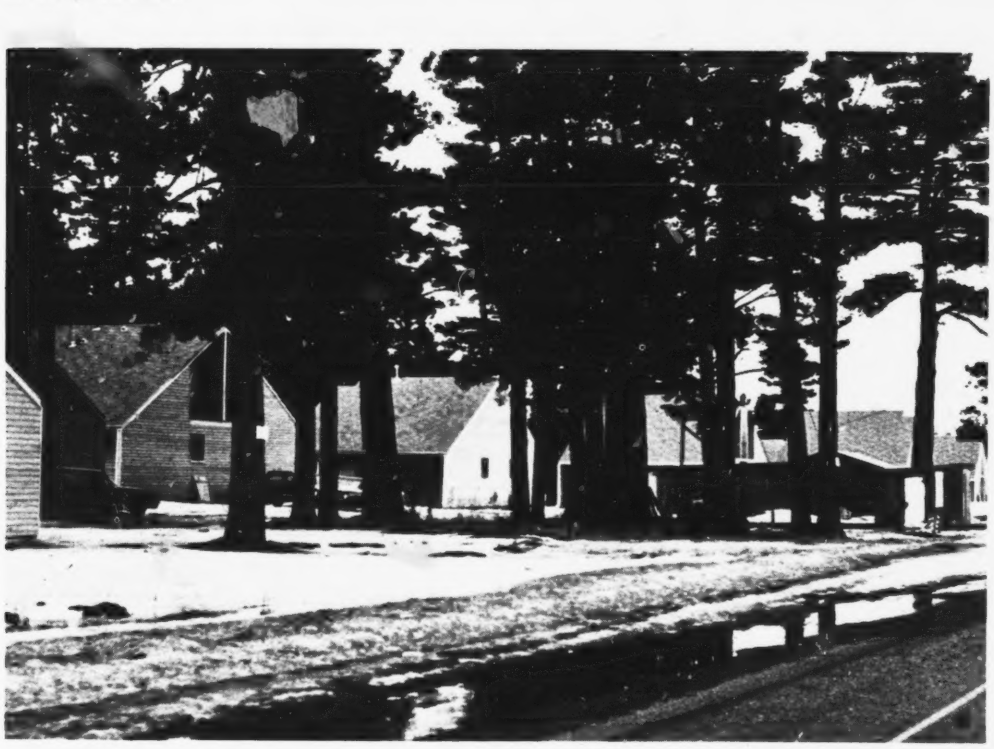

Photo from Governor's Commission on Human Rights

Shown above are the partially completed new homes on the Lac du Flambeau reservation. They are the first of 90 low income rental units to be built in 1966 on Wisconsin Indian reservations under Public Housing Authority sponsorship.

Wisconsin Relationships With Indians

State Department of Agriculture

- **Supervision of work done on Indian reservations under the white pine blister rust control project.**

Working in conjunction with the federal government, the State Department of Agriculture makes available to three Indian reservations the program of white pine blister rust control. Because a major portion of tribal revenue is derived from forestry operations, this program is essential to protect the white pine forests from the blister rust blight.

In the administration of the control project, foresters from the Bureau of Indian Affairs prepare a work plan of action. The area where the pine is located is thoroughly appraised. The exact location of the stands, the age and condition of the trees, the density of growth, and the extent of the disease are all noted. According to the needs of the various areas, the Department of Agriculture then authorizes rust control projects to begin. Indians from the reservations are hired to do the work of eradicating the currant and gooseberry bushes which are the carriers of the blister rust. At the conclusion of the work, the Department inspects the area to see that the control has been carried out satisfactorily.

In 1965 work was performed at Bad River, Lac Courte Oreilles, and Lac du Flambeau. A total of $4,500 was spent for 472 eight hour man days of Indian labor.

Attorney General

- **Legal jurisdiction over all reservation areas.**
- **Financial support for law enforcement in reservation areas.**

As the chief legal officer in Wisconsin, the Attorney General is concerned with the protection of the Indians as citizens of the state and, also, as a special group of citizens who because of their heritage and history require additional care to ensure their equal treatment.

Since the passage in 1953 of Public Law 280, the state has had civil and criminal jurisdiction over all Indian reservations within state boundaries. Before that time Wisconsin had no authority over Indian lands; only federal marshalls and federal district attorneys and federal judges could handle criminal and civil matters involving Indians on trust land. Now the administration of law and order is the same for Indians as it is for any residents of the state.

Nevertheless, while Public Law 280 gave legal jurisdiction to Wisconsin within all Indian reservations, it expressly provided that it did not "...deprive any Indian or any Indian tribe, band or community of any right, privilege, or immunity afforded under federal treaty, agreement or statute with respect to hunting, trapping, or fishing or the control, licensing, or regulation thereof." The century old treaty rights of hunting and fishing the year around are probably not significant to most Indians today from an economic standpoint, but they do have a symbolic significance. In a 1966 opinion the Attorney General reversed the opinion of his predecessor and declared that these treaty rights are still in force and that the state's conservation laws do not extend to the Wisconsin Indian reservations.

In addition to jurisdictional questions, the office of the Attorney General handles problems regarding legal settlement and residence under the state's health and welfare laws, particularly as such matters affect the right of the state to charge the cost of institutional care to the county of residence. Generally, it is held that a Wisconsin Indian living within an Indian reservation does not acquire residence or domicile for the purpose of charging the cost of institutional care back to the county concerned.

Finally, the legislature has provided a special $15,000 annual appropriation for aid to those counties which have incurred law enforcement costs because of the presence of Indians within the county. The Attorney General is required by law to certify that the claims by the counties are valid and comply with state law. The theory or rationale of this statute is that since the Indians live on tax-free lands, the added cost of law enforcement by the extension of the state criminal law to the reservation under Public Law 280 should not be borne by the county itself but should be considered a state-at-large responsibility.

Conservation Department

- **Cooperation on hunting and fishing rights.**
- **Regulation of harvesting wild rice.**
- **Aid in fish management and stocking of reservation waters.**
- **Forest management in Menominee county.**

While officials of the Conservation Department have had historic differences with the Indians over their right to hunt and fish the year around, they have found that the Indians as a group are among the strongest supporters in the state of sound conservation practices. Indians have invariably shown a deep respect for nature and for her resources. There has hardly been an instance of wanton killing of animals among the Indians. Violations of the law have involved legal jurisdictional questions or they have been based on economic necessity.

Hunting and Fishing

Treaties with the federal government gave Chippewa Indians on the Bad River, Lac Courte Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, and Red Cliff reservations the right to hunt and fish without seasonal restriction. With the passage, however, of Public Law 280, which gave the state criminal and civil jurisdiction over the reservations, controversy has developed over the application of this law. In a 1966 statement, the Attorney General of Wisconsin reversed the position taken by his predecessor and declared that treaty rights are still in force and that the state's conservation laws do not extend to the Wisconsin Indian reservations. Until such time as a court test arises and this question is taken to the Supreme Court, the question of these rights will remain somewhat vague and undefined.

Meanwhile this can be said: Indians hunting, fishing or trapping *outside* the boundaries of Indian reservations are subject to Wisconsin law. And contrarily, Indians hunting, fishing and trapping *within* the boundaries of the reservations and *on Indian lands* are not subject to Wisconsin law. Here there is no disagreement. The problem arises within the reservations when the Indians hunt and fish on alienated, non-Indian lands. Each of the four Chippewa reservations is checkerboarded with non-Indian land. In the deep wilderness where game is sought no signs indicate which is Indian or which is non-Indian land. In theory, Indians must confine their hunting to known Indian lands, but who is to say whether the deer was shot legally in this part of the forest which is Indian or that part which is private? At the present time the Conservation Department has declared that Indians at Lac Courte Oreilles and at Lac du Flambeau may hunt, fish and trap the year round within the reservation limits regardless of the private lands. However, at Red Cliff and Bad River the Indians are considered subject to Wisconsin conservation regulations within the reservation if they are on private lands.

Enforcement problems are encountered by the wardens involving the illegal selling of fish and game by Indians to non-Indians. This is most prevalent during the deer and fishing season. Tagging of furbearing animals caught on the reservation is an additional responsibility of the wardens. On these reservations, trapping remains an important source of income to many Indians.

Fish Management

The Fish Management Division of the Department carries out lake and stream surveys, water inventories, and lake mapping on waters within the Indian reservations in Wisconsin. Where public access is available and where a need for supplemental stocking is indicated, quotas for stocking various warmwater species of fish are established.

In the Lac du Flambeau reservation, a seasonal type, warmwater hatchery operation is carried on by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under a cooperative agreement with the Commission. Under a permit system, the town of Lac du Flambeau is authorized to carry on a netting and fish transfer program. Under a cooperative rough fish removal agreement, members of the Lac du Flambeau tribe are permitted to take suckers as food during the spring netting operations.

Wild Rice Operations

The wild rice legislation which passed the 1961 session of the Wisconsin legislature gave the Conservation Commission authority over harvesting wild rice in Wisconsin. The primary purpose of the legislation was to protect the Indians and to help ensure a lasting supply of rice. Wild rice does not ripen uniformly. If premature attempts are made at harvesting, the entire crop may be flattened and prevented from ripening and automatically reseeding. Outsiders who rush the season or dealers who pressure the Indians to harvest early have both caused serious threats to the future of the rice beds. Thus only the Commission is authorized to decide when harvesting can begin in a rice growing area. This is determined by close day to day observation as the season grows near; and the date may vary from lake to lake. The Commission seeks the advice and recommendation of the tribal councils involved before establishing any rules governing the rice growing or harvesting within the boundaries of the reservation.

The Commission has prohibited the use of mechanical devices in the harvesting of the wild rice. While the delicacy of the wild rice plant requires this special treatment for its survival, the prohibition has also been helpful in protecting the employment of the Indians in the rice lakes.

Menominee County

Since termination of federal supervision over the Menominee Indians, the laws of Wisconsin, including the fish and game laws, have applied to Menominee county. In the five years following termination, the Commission has conducted educational and enforcement programs to bring about compliance, and Conservation officials have been pleasantly surprised to discover that the Menominees did not resist the laws. Although the Indians found abrogation of time honored rights hard to understand, they have accepted the situation with good grace so that today the Conservation Commission finds the enforcement of its regulations no more difficult in Menominee than in any other county.

The Forest Management Division of the Conservation Department works with Menominee county and Menominee Enterprises on the Menominee forests. The Enterprises submits a management plan of the forests for the approval of the Commission. The sustained yield principle guides the Commission.

State Board of Health

- **Public health nurse in Menominee county.**
- **Special health care in Menominee county.**
- **Contracts in five counties for special public health nursing to Indians.**

The State Board of Health recognizes the need for giving special health services to Indians in Wisconsin. Because the Menominee Indians are now completely under state jurisdiction, the Board of Health has devoted particular attention to the health needs of the residents of Menominee county.

After termination the state initiated an intensive health survey in Menominee county. Results revealed that the Indians had five times as much tuberculosis as the general population of Wisconsin, 20 times as much diabetes, a much higher infant death rate, and the biggest killer of all, an abnormally high death rate from auto accidents. To combat these serious problems the State Board went into action on a number of fronts. Close medical testing, supervision and treatment have resulted in identifying and controlling the tuberculosis and the diabetes. Two public health nurses in the county, one paid for by the State Board, have worked with the families on a day to day basis, bringing health education into the homes. When the Dental Hygiene Division undertook a survey of all Menominee county children up to 19 years of age and discovered the overall need for dental care to be great, the Board approved a grant of $10,000, to be matched by an equal sum from the U.S. Children's Bureau, to meet this. Treatment began in the spring of 1966 on a contractual arrangement with dentists in nearby Shawano county.

In other areas of Wisconsin the State Board of Health does not provide direct services to the Indians. Indirectly, however, the State Board remains in close contact with problems of Indian health through the offices of the county public health nurses, the district sanitarians and the nutrition consultants in the district offices.

By contract with the U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, nurses in Vilas, Bayfield, Ashland, Sawyer and Forest counties carry out a program of service designed to raise the health standards of the Indians. Special emphasis is given to maternal and child health. Immunization clinics, diabetic and TB screening, hearing and vision testing, orthopedic and heart examinations are held on the reservations in these counties annually. The public health nurse attempts to follow-up on the cases needing attention, instituting health promotion campaigns and teaching programs for all tribal members, and home demonstration and nursing instruction for individual families.

The public health sanitarians with Indian populations in their districts are inevitably faced with the problems of poor sanitation, considerably more prevalent on the reservation lands than in the surrounding communities. They counsel the Indians on environmental sanitation, but for the most part the improvement of the inadequate water supplies and sanitary facilities recommended by the sanitarians is an economic impossibility. Thus the work of

Photo from Dept. of Agric. Journ.—U.W. News Services

This interior of a small house in the Winnebago Indian Mission near Black River Falls reflects the disorganization and despair of overwhelming poverty. New housing units are scheduled for construction July 1966.

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the sanitarians is limited to that of diagnosis and evaluation and constant supervision.

The nutrition consultants work in cooperation with the public health nurses, holding demonstration classes, generally, on the value of better nutrition, and, specifically, on problems requiring special dietary arrangements. For example, a series of classes for diabetics, was held at the Bad River reservation in the fall of 1965, explaining and demonstrating dietary requirements for the control of this disease.

State Highway Commission

- **Responsibility for the construction and maintenance of all state trunk highways within and through Indian reservation areas.**
- **Provisions for annual statutory allotments of state aid for the mileage of county trunk highways and town roads in the Bad River, Red Cliff, Lac Courte Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, Stockbridge, Oneida, St. Croix and Potawatomi Indian reservations and lands.**

In carrying out its direct responsibility for state trunk highways, as well as its indirect responsibility for county trunk highways and town roads, the Highway Commission maintains close contact with the Indian reservations in Wisconsin. The Commission works through the Bureau of Indian Affairs in two main capacities.

First, the Bureau has established an approved system of Indian service roads within the several defined reservations which are eligible for improvement with specific Indian reserve roads funds. These approved roads are, for the most part, comprised of portions of county trunk highways and town roads, and as such are maintained by the counties and towns in which they are located. The Highway Commission aids in the construction and supervision of these highways and roads.

Second, the Right-of-Way Division of the Commission works directly with the Bureau in the process of acquiring highway rights-of-way through Indian lands. The final grant of right-of-way through Indian land must come from the Secretary of Interior and only after such conditions as he may prescribe are met. The procedure is an involved one due to the fact that much Indian land is in heirship status, so that the owners of a single parcel of land may be exceedingly numerous because of the continual division and subdivision of the land through inheritance. This often means that the state government must go to considerable trouble to find the many different owners of the land to obtain their individual permission for right-of-way easements.

The various types of Indian ownership also cause further confusion in the right-of-way procedure. Some lands are owned by the tribe, some lands are allotted to individual Indians with restrictions on the right to sell, and other lands are allotted without any restrictions. In each case the methods used to acquire the various types of property are different.

Still another complication arises on questions of condemnation of the Indian lands. Because of the trusteeship responsibility of the federal government toward the Indian land, the United States is a party to the condemnation proceedings, and the case must be brought in a federal court.

In 1965 the legislature established an emergency work program in Menominee county for the purpose of providing immediate and necessary employment for the Indians residing in Menominee county and for the necessary improvement of county and town highways in the county. An appropriation of $300,000 to extend to June 1967 was provided for this purpose. During the spring of 1966 the work was giving employment to 25 or 30 Indians a week.

Governor's Commission on Human Rights

Although the Governor's Commission on Human Rights has no special legislative mandate to handle problems of Indians, the Commission's general responsibility in safeguarding the rights of all citizens within the state has included intimate concern for the welfare of these first Wisconsin residents.

Within a few years after its formation, the Commission realized that the entire area of the range of Indian life in the state was grossly neglected. The obvious first step of the Commission was to fill the void of lack of information on an individual and tribal level and on the state and federal level. The publication of the *Handbook on Wisconsin Indians* in 1952 met this need. Studies since then, *Report on the Labor Force and Employment Conditions of the Oneida Indians* (1958) and *The Milwaukee Indian* (1962), have supplemented the initial research. With this present *Handbook* the Commission brings up to date the picture of the changing status of the Wisconsin Indian.

Prior to the federal termination of Menominee reservation and its establishment as the 72nd county of Wisconsin, the Commission was intensely involved in the work of the Governor's Committee on Menominee Indian Affairs and the Menominee Indian Study Committee. Efforts were directed to preparing the Menominees for independent status with special emphasis on developing leadership potential. The present director still serves on the study committee.

From a special Indian session called in April 1951 by the Commission to the June 1966 Indian Leadership Conference, the Commission has aided and encouraged Indians and non-Indians alike to meet together to work in solving the varied social and economic problems which Indians face. The arts and crafts project, providing employment to members of the Stockbridge-Munsee tribe, was established on Commission initiative with the cooperation of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin. The Commission has provided a continuing consultant and speaker service to public and private groups and to the Indians themselves. Overall the Commission has served as a catalyst in bringing together groups concerned and has opened channels for constructive solutions of problems.

While there is a great reservoir of public good will toward the Indian and relatively few cases of active discrimination have been encountered, the Governor's Commission nevertheless feels that these minority members of the Wisconsin community do not yet enjoy an unfettered free existence. Bound by generations of poverty, they have met the deadening defeat of the spirit which joblessness and paternalism bring.

Wisconsin State Employment Service of the Industrial Commission

- **Cooperation in promoting the employment of Indians.**

For many years the Wisconsin State Employment Service has provided placement service for Wisconsin Indians. A national memorandum of understanding was signed in 1955 between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security. This agreement defines the joint responsibility of both agencies in combatting unemployment among the Indians. In Wisconsin the Employment Service through its Smaller Communities Team, a mobile group of personnel experts, has brought to areas of concentrated Indian population all the services of a regular employment office.

In the winter and spring of 1966 a Smaller Communities Team spent four months in Menominee county with the dual purpose of: (1) conducting a manpower survey for later use in planning for county industrial development and, (2) operating a regular employment service office. Staff members provided testing, counseling, job planning and development, referral to other agencies, and special services to high school seniors. At first applicants were reluctant to deal with another "white man's" agency. They believed that this was another attempt at relocation, but gradually through home visits and evening meetings, these suspicions were overcome. While the program was successful quantitatively in that over 400 applications were processed and many applicants were certified for further training and assisted in establishing sound employment plans, the sad truth was that there were practically no jobs in the county to which applicants could be referred.

The experience of the employment team in Menominee county has relevance for other Indian communities in Wisconsin. In addition to the obvious need for inducing industry and business to come into the county, the team made a number of recommendations to improve employment opportunities:

- a child care center for women who want to work
- public transportation both within and without the county
- vocational training facilities within the county
- either a permanent office or regularly scheduled visits to Menominee county by employment service personnel. County residents are reluctant to seek employment counseling in Green Bay where they are not known.

Department of Public Instruction

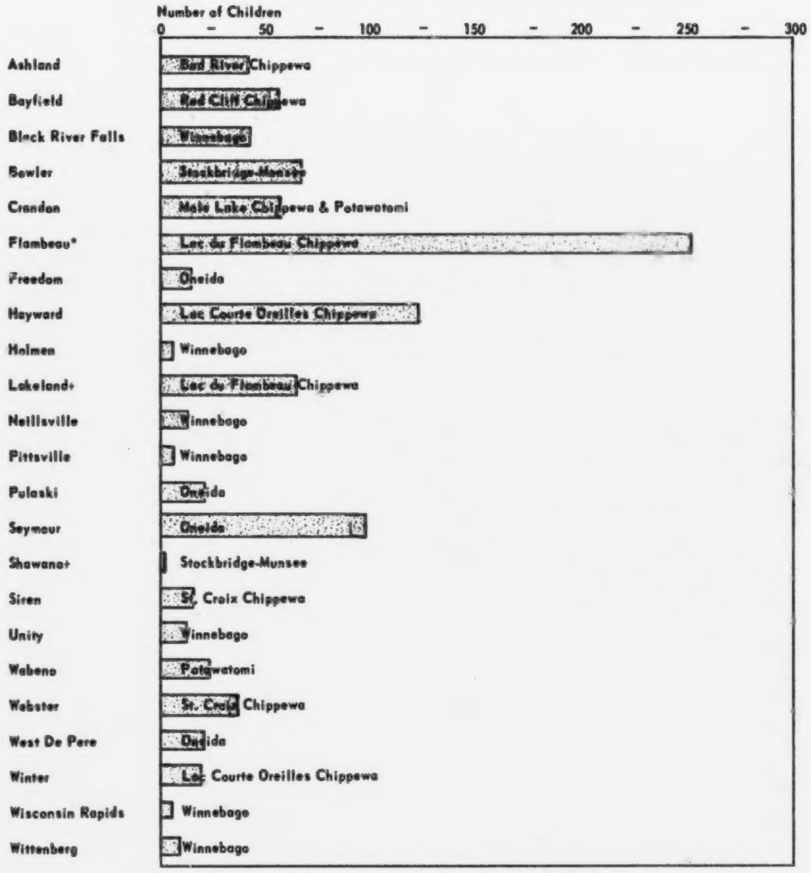
- **Administration of federal funds for the education of Indian children in the public schools of the state.**
- **Administration of a college scholarship program for Indian students.**
- **Supervision of the Menominee Indian Adult Education Program.**

Indian Children in the Public Schools

On July 1, 1948, the last of the special federally operated schools for Indian children in Wisconsin was closed. Since then it has been the obligation of the state and local school districts to see that Indian children, no matter where they live, on reservations or off, receive the same educational opportunity available to other children of Wisconsin. The State Department of Public Instruction is charged with the supervision of this program. Table II shows the Wisconsin school districts with Indian children, residing on federal lands, in attendance.

TABLE II

WISCONSIN SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH INDIAN CHILDREN, RESIDING ON FEDERAL LANDS, IN ATTENDANCE, 1964–1965



Unless otherwise designated, the school district includes both elementary and high school

* Elementary only + High School only

Under the terms of the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934, the Department of Public Instruction has a contract with the federal government, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which provides the state with federal funds sufficient to cover the local cost of education for the Indian children and which includes a small sum for administration by department officials. The policy of this Indian Education Fund, as set forth by the state, attempts to reimburse the local school district with as much money per Indian child living on nontaxable land as that district taxes itself per child living on taxable property. Thus the funds protect the local school districts from undue financial burden resulting from the presence of large numbers of Indian children living on federally owned, nontaxable lands in the district. This policy does much to bring about attitudes favoring the full acceptance of the Indian child in the community school.

In the first few years the Department of Public Instruction faced many problems in securing equal educational opportunities for the Indian children. There were districts where the white residents bitterly opposed the entrance into their schools of the Indians. There were Indian parents who had little appreciation of the statutory requirement that their children must attend school regularly. Close consultation with both groups was the order of the day—and in the end, the changeover was smooth and harmonious.

The eighteen years in which the Department of Public Instruction has supervised Indian education in Wisconsin has brought many changes: a heartening improvement in the quality of the education, an increasing number of Indian students who continue through high school to graduation, and overall, a rising awareness and appreciation by Indian families of the permanent values of education. To cite figures on Indian children residing on federal lands, in 1947-1948 a total of 745 Indian students attended public schools in the state, but of the 161 high school students only 21 graduated from 12th grade in June. In 1964-1965 of the 1,020 Indian children (exclusive of Menominee) in school, 302 were in high school and 55 of these graduated. This increase in numbers reflects not merely a higher birthrate but a greater emphasis on the positive good of completing high school.

The reorganization of the school districts throughout Wisconsin in the late 1950's has been an important factor in improving the caliber of Indian education, giving to Indian children the opportunity for a broader more challenging classroom experience. Until the reorganization, most of the Indian students in the lower grades attended small one room rural schools. Their horizons were such that reaching the 8th grade represented a major educational attainment. Today, although the majority of the Indian students still live in scattered rural areas, they are transported by bus to bigger schools which by virtue of size and tax base provide the stimulation and competition necessary for excellence in education. Thus the children in grades one to eight have become more prepared for the transition to high school where they are not as likely to be awed and lack confidence in continuing.

Administration of federal money for Indian education has meant to the Department of Public Instruction far more than a simple accounting procedure transferring funds from one branch of government to another. It has meant a complicated human equation in which a careful and sympathetic scrutiny is given each school situation involving Indian children. The department has consciously tried to bring about an understanding among all professional people of the special problems which the Indian students face. The supervisor of Indian education and the assistant superintendent of public instruction make frequent field trips to Indian reservations and communities, conferring not only with the principals and teachers in the various schools but also with tribal leaders and parents of the children. This close consultation and continued encouragement have paid major dividends in student attendance, teacher awareness, and family support.

College Scholarships for Indian Students

In July 1957 the Wisconsin Legislature enacted a statute setting up special college scholarships for high school graduates of Indian descent.

This law came about as a direct result of the finding by the Department of Public Instruction that there was a definite need for a continuation of the educational opportunities available to Indian students beyond high school. A survey of the 124 Indian graduates in 1956 revealed that 22 expressed an interest in attending college. To help these students, the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided a grant of $3,000 for the school year 1956-1957. This sum was not sufficient to meet the need but it proved to be the beginning of the Indian College Scholarship Program. The following year, along with the establishment of the scholarship program, the state appropriated $6,000 for the coming year to enable Indian students to attend state supported institutions, with the Bureau of Indian Affairs agreeing to match this sum and thereafter to match state funds made for this purpose.

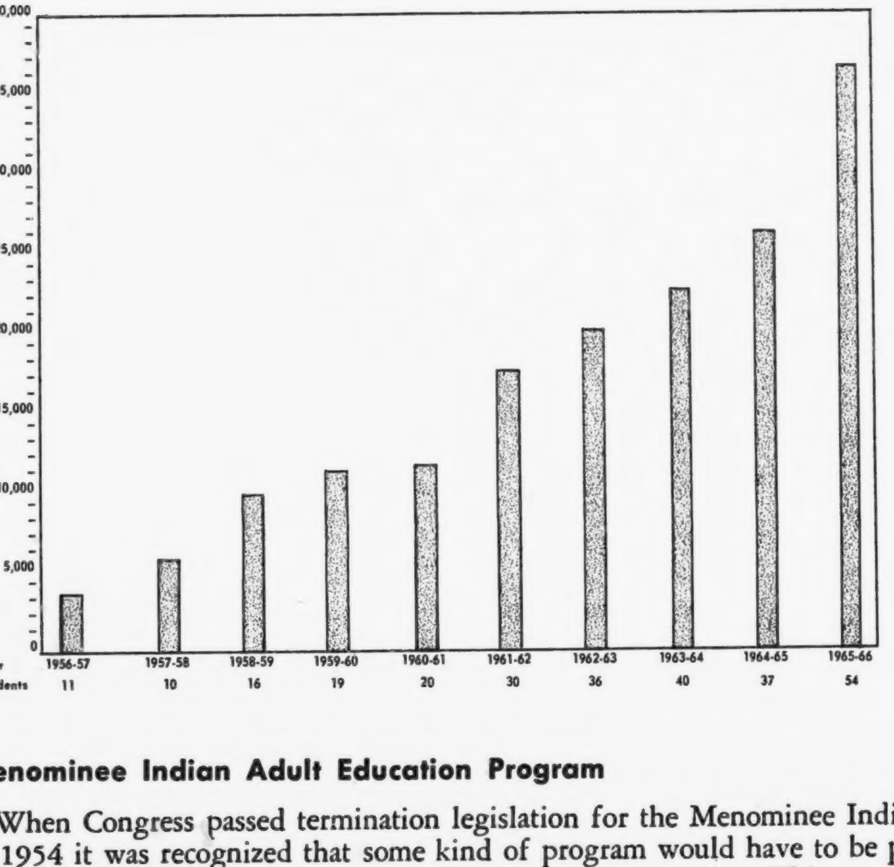
In the ten year period following the enactment of the original bill, the statute has been amended three times. As it now stands an eligible student is one who has one-fourth or more Indian blood, is a resident of Wisconsin, has the capacity to profit from appropriate college work and has completed high school in the upper two-thirds of his class. It is further stipulated that the grant to any one student shall not exceed $900 in a single academic year. From the original grant of $6,000, the appropriation was increased the following year to $8,000, a few years later to $14,000, and in 1965 to a "sum sufficient" to meet the needs.

After ten years, 142 Indian students will have received a total of $159,336.08 in grants to attend college under this program. By June 1966, 25 students will have graduated.

In the 1965-1966 school year 54 Indian students were enrolled in Wisconsin colleges and universities. For these students Wisconsin is providing $18,843 in grants and the federal government $19,960. (See Table III.)

That the scholarship program has not been one hundred percent successful is evidenced by the fact that not all the recipients have continued through four years of college. Many have dropped out after the freshman year. Some were not qualified, some were poorly prepared. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the college scholarship program has been more successful than the Department of Public Instruction dared to contemplate at the outset. It has opened to Indian young people new horizons not dreamed of a decade ago.

TABLE III
STUDENTS WHO RECEIVED INDIAN SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS 1956-57 THRU 1965-66



Menominee Indian Adult Education Program

When Congress passed termination legislation for the Menominee Indians in 1954 it was recognized that some kind of program would have to be provided for the Menominees to prepare them for self-government. This program was initiated a year later when the Department of Public Instruction entered into a contract with the federal government to provide a special program of "education and training designed to help the members of the Menominee tribe earn a livelihood, conduct their own affairs and assume their responsibilities as citizens." While it was initially designed to last only three years, the program was extended until 1961 when the formal activities were concluded, although from 1961–1964 the department had supervisory responsibilities over the few students who were finishing their training programs.

In the six years of active operation of the adult education program, the Department of Public Instruction set up many varied and different opportunities for Menominees over 18. At the outset all adult Menominees were informed of the vocational and academic programs being offered. Courses were given on the reservation in citizenship and government, in reading and mathematics, in accounting, bookkeeping and typing, as well as a special class in surveying taught by a professional engineer. A full-time truancy officer was appointed to insure the attendance of all the school children on the reservation. (The tribal council has since assumed financial responsibility for this post.) A Bureau of Information was established to inform Menominee families about termination procedures and the responsibilities they would soon face. A home agent was appointed to work with the Indian young people in 4-H activities and with homemakers to help them acquire new skills. The home agent also held classes dealing with property responsibilities. Inasmuch as individual Menominees had never owned property it was essential to explain the problems of taxes, of buying and selling land, of budgets and fiscal planning. Staff members from the Attorney General's office and from Shawano county came to the reservation to give a short course in county government.

The off-the-reservation training was equally thorough. Over one hundred Menominees attended vocational schools in Milwaukee, Wausau, Oshkosh, Janesville and Madison. The students took such courses as cosmetology, automotive repair and machine shop work. While in training the participants in the program received a subsistence allowance. A number of Menominees also attended night school in Antigo and Wausau and a few took special courses at institutes out of the state. In addition, qualified high school graduates were given financial aid for their college education.

In total, over $702,000 was spent on the Menominee Indian Adult Education Program. While no official evaluation of the results has been made, it is nevertheless felt that this training provided a giant step forward for the tribal members. With a background of training not only in citizenship but in vocational skill, the Menominees were able to face termination with greater ability, insight, and confidence.

Conclusion

Many problems have been encountered by the Department of Public Instruction in providing educational opportunities to the Indian children of the state. This was true in 1947 when the local school districts were faced with large numbers of Indian students to fit into their own school systems, true again in the 50's during the reorganization of the school districts, and true again today when the department is not merely waging a war against high school drop outs but actively pursuing the goal of four years of college for qualified Indian students. The department's philosophy is well expressed:

> We do not want the Indian to "get lost." We merely want to extend to him the opportunities of the white man's culture as he extended to us the values of basic American Indian life. The economic sufficiency of any people depends to a large extent upon relations with others. The Indian people, by and large, recognize that they are no exception. In order to carry on successful relationships, both business and social, with his white neighbors, the Indian must mingle with them. Tribal and legal fences about the reservation must have gates that permit a two-way passage of knowledge, inspiration, and service. The public school can be and should be the biggest gate of all. (Annual Report, *Indian Education,* 1951-52)

Public Welfare Department

Division of Public Assistance

- **Administration of Indian relief through county welfare offices.**
- **Homemaker demonstration project in Menominee county.**
- **Administration of welfare aids to holders of negotiable bonds in Menominee county.**
- **Work experience training under OEO.**

Indian Relief

In 1951 the state legislature passed a bill making funds available to furnish relief to needy Indians residing on taxfree land. The need for this statewide appropriation resulted from the fact that most of the Indians living on federal non-taxable lands were located in counties which themselves were among the poorest in economic resources in the state. Thus, the counties were not able to assume the additional burden of relief to a group of citizens who made no contribution to the county property tax fund. The Division of Public Assistance administers the relief through the county welfare departments. The local agencies give to the eligible Indians at least 85 per cent of the standard allowance established for recipients of social security aids; the relief may be in the form of money grants, commodities or work relief. Over $170,000 was spent for the fiscal year 1964-1965 with a total

TABLE IV

INDIAN RELIEF

Families Receiving Aid by County

1964-1965

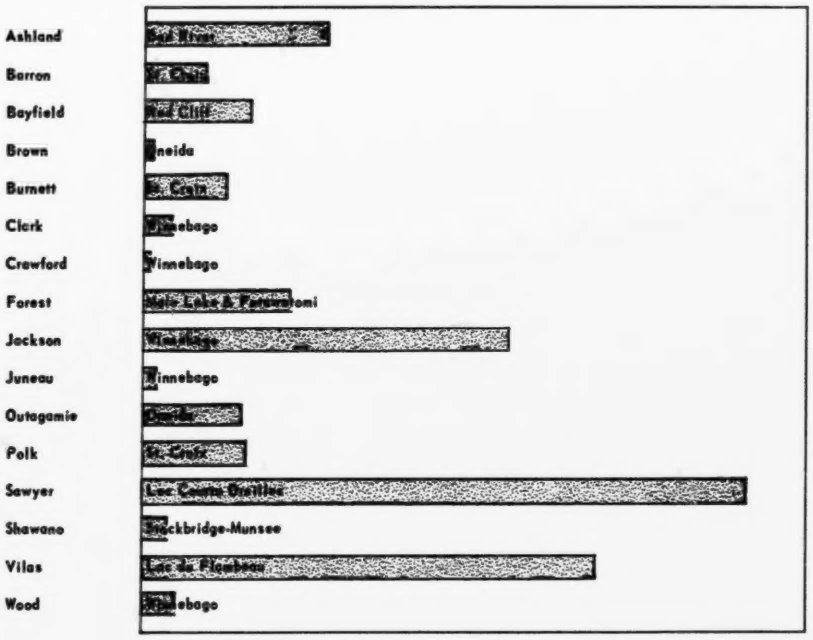


TABLE V
1965-1966
Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare Services
From The Bureau Of Research

Name of Program	*Total Number of Indian Cases*	*Rate per 10,000 Indians*[1]	*Total Number of Non-Indian Cases*	*Rate per 10,000 People*[2]
Boarding Home Care.......	325	216	1,619	4
Old Age Assistance	159	106	26,276	66
Aid to Dependent Children..	1,403	935	40,423	101
Aid to the Blind	28	18	726	1
Aid to the Disabled	111	74	6,285	15
County Homes	5	3	2,995	7
Juvenile Correctional Institutions	107	71	2,201	5
Adult Correctional Institutions	90	60	1,532	4
Juvenile Probation Services..	21	14	177	Less than ½
Juvenile Aftercare	98	65	1,962	5
Adult Probation	107	71	2,171	5
Adult Parole	120	80	1,875	5
Total......		1,713		218

[1] Based on a population of 15,000 Indians.
[2] Based on a population of 4,000,000.

Percent of Indian Population Receiving Aid—17.13%
Percent of General Population Receiving Aid— 2.18%

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of 418 families receiving aid. The federal government contributed $10,000 to this fund for Indian relief. The preceding chart shows this relief by county and tribal groups involved. (See Table IV) It is estimated in the year ending June 30, 1966, the Indian relief expenditures will go over $200,000.

Other Forms of Public Assistance

Of the other forms of public assistance which Indians receive, the Aid to Dependent Children program provides the greatest percentage of support. The above chart shows the estimated number of Indians receiving public assistance for 1965-1966. (See Table V) While these figures are based on different studies made at different times and include projections of percentages, they reflect the Division's closest approximation of the situation today. Of the total Indian population 17.13 per cent receive aid, as contrasted to a figure of 2.18 per cent for the population as a whole.

Homemaker Demonstration Project

Under a grant from the federal government, the Division of Public Assistance administers a homemaker demonstration project in Menominee county. Four homemakers, all Menominee women, under the direction of the county welfare office, work closely with individual families, going into the homes, occasionally helping to care for children in emergencies, but most of all attempting to bring permanent improvements in the standards of living.

Menominee Bond Issue

Each member of the Menominee tribe was issued at termination a $3,000 bond carrying a 4 per cent annual interest payment as the individual share in the Menominee Enterprises. These bonds became negotiable in 1964. In December 1964 the Wisconsin legislature passed a bill charging the Department of Public Welfare with the responsibility of providing assistance grants and loans against the bonds. This legislation was needed (1) to provide the Menominees with a reasonable alternative to assigning their bonds over to private individuals when they needed loans and (2) to make possible public assistance aids (such as social security, old age assistance, etc.) to Menominees who would not be considered eligible if they had negotiable bonds. To administer the bill, the Division of Public Assistance maintained a staff of three trained social workers in Menominee county for over a year and one-half. Menominees borrowed against the bonds using the money to repay medical bills, to improve their houses and to buy cars for needed transportation to job sites. The loans and grants were charged against the bonds. As of May 1966, the $1,000,000 fund for this purpose was almost entirely expended. Only a small balance of $42,000 remained. Nearly half of the total went for relief and half for notes receivable.

Work Experience Training

Under Title V of the OEO program, the Department of Public Welfare received in 1965 a grant through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare designed to bring work experience and training to welfare recipients. Three million dollars was allocated for use in 26 counties, most of them located in northern Wisconsin. This grant will have considerable impact on the economic welfare of the Indians, for Indians are among the hard core unemployables to whom the program is primarily directed. The aim of the project is to give job skills to welfare recipients or potential welfare recipients so that they can eventually support themselves. While there are a number of existing vocational training programs for which Indians are eligible, this public welfare project does not duplicate or compete with these programs; anyone eligible for other programs will be referred to them. This project takes an individualized social work approach, attempting to develop and deepen the interest of the men and women involved in working at jobs for which they would be suited and arranging through a variety of sources the necessary training for these jobs.

Public Welfare Department

Division of Children and Youth

Community Services Section

Because the Community Services Section has the special responsibility of aiding handicapped and "hard to serve" groups, it has devoted considerable attention to the Indians of Wisconsin. The regional consultants who work out of nine district offices offer communities various services designed to meet the needs of children and youth. These range from consultation on local problems to actual demonstration projects and training workshops.

Community Services has made a unique contribution to the welfare of all the Indians in the state by stimulating them to recognize their own problems and through their own leadership to help themselves. Conferences have been singularly successful in this endeavor. Since May of 1962, when an institute for professional people working with Indians was held in Hayward, this section of the Division of Children and Youth has been instrumental in the organization of conferences covering such areas as leadership, community development, health services and education of youth. The latest such conference was held in June 1966 at Wisconsin State University, Eau Claire, centering on the theme, "Crossroads in Culture."

Community Services has functioned in a number of other ways to help the Indians. A study on children and youth on the Menominee Indian Reservation was prepared in 1953. A study of school drop outs in the Lakeland area in Vilas county was made in 1965. These studies have been of value in understanding the present day situation and in planning for the future. District consultants have worked closely with Indian groups, acting as intermediaries with school administrators and county officials, consulting with Indian parents on the educational futures of their children, fostering the establishment of and participation in PTA organizations, and attempting always to bring about a better public understanding of Indian problems.

Direct Services Section

The state of Wisconsin no longer accepts federal aid for foster home care of Indian children. Regardless of skin color or federal wardship, the state now takes full responsibility for the care of all of its dependent children. This program is handled by the Direct Services Section of the Division of Children and Youth.

Indian children committed to the care of the Division of Children and Youth are placed in foster homes or in boarding homes. These homes are for the most part white because few Indian homes meet state standards for foster care.

Thirty-two Indian children were accepted for adoption in 1965, mainly in Wisconsin homes, although some of the children went to out-of-state families through the sponsorship of the Child Welfare League, Indian Adoption Project. The Child Welfare League initiated this successful project in 1960 to prove that Indian children are just as adoptable as white children.

Department of Resource Development

- **Encouragement of economic and recreational development on the Indian reservations.**
- **Aid in qualifying for anti-poverty programs.**

The Division of Industrial Development of the Department of Resource Development works with the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to bring more industry to Indian communities. Although private industry has been reluctant to establish new concerns in northern Wisconsin, the division feels that the advantages of locating on or near reservation areas far outweigh the drawbacks:

- The labor supply is constant with little turnover.
- Labor costs and property taxes are considerably lower than in urban locations.
- The training programs for employees offered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs are generous. The employer has little expense involved in training new Indian employees.

The division is aware that only long-term planning and development of reservation areas will bring economic well-being to the Indians. The role of the division, however, is not that of the entrepreneur or developer; the division coordinates and promotes; the division attempts to interest private enterprise. But it is only tribal leadership which can, in the last analysis, persuade a specific industry to come to the reservation. Aggressive and vigorous spokesmen are the best salesmen the tribe can have; more are needed in Wisconsin.

The Division of Recreation has given special consideration to the development of the Wolf River Basin. In a 1965 study, the Department of Resource Development recommended that this area with its rich heritage of historical and archeological sites be preserved as a natural recreational resource. In Menominee county easements guaranteeing public access would protect the land and at the same time foster the embryonic tourist industry.

The Division for Special Projects offers one of the most helpful services in the state to the Indians. Since September 1964 this office has handled the Economic Opportunity Program in Wisconsin, serving as a clearing house and advisory agency. As a technical referral agency, the state OEO helps applicants to qualify and aids them to prepare the proper organizational requirements. As far as Indians are concerned there are various possibilities for federal aid. One is directly from Washington via the Indian Affairs desk. Federal money has been set aside specifically for Indian projects; it is this money which would fund completely Indian projects. A second possibility is through the regional planning commissions. On such a commission, Indian representatives working with non-Indian community members would propose projects which would benefit the entire community. A project such as the Headstart program in school districts is an example of the all community project. Finally, the Indians may benefit from the OEO money in Wisconsin through the larger program received by a state agency. For example, the

Department of Public Welfare received close to $3,000,000 in 1966 for a work experience program which would provide on the job training for welfare recipients. Indians would apply through the county welfare directors for such support and training.

Until the close of 1965, with the exception of the placement of VISTA volunteers on four Indian reservations, there was no OEO money specifically for Indian projects in Wisconsin. Menominee county, however, had received close to $300,000 from federal funds for anti-poverty projects; including a Headstart program, Operation Upward Bound for Menominee boys, a Neighborhood Youth Corps program and the funding of VISTA volunteers.

Because Indians are among the most deprived group of citizens and therefore among those most qualified for the poverty program, the state OEO advisory agency has devoted special efforts to achieving a long-term sound economic solution to Indian problems. To this end the agency is seeking OEO funds for the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council. If the Inter-Tribal Council can be provided with enough money initially to organize and stimulate leadership among the ten Indian tribes in the state, the council will then be able to begin a genuine "operation bootstrap" by which the Indians will be the prime movers in helping themselves.

For the summer of 1966, OEO funds have been requested for Neighborhood Youth Corps projects, employing approximately 250 young people from the ten tribes and costing $131,000. Funds totaling $100,000 have also been requested for Headstart programs on the five smaller reservations which will not already be participating in such programs in their school districts.

Photo from Bureau of Indian Affairs

Lac Courte Oreilles Indians are shown harvesting cranberries for the successful tribally owned enterprise covering 28 acres of beds in Sawyer county.

University of Wisconsin

Guided by its philosophy that the boundaries of the state are the boundaries of the campus, the University of Wisconsin has committed a variety of its resources, both academic and practical, to Indian affairs. Research oriented projects at the U.W. and the U.W.-Milwaukee have included anthropological and sociological studies of the Winnebagos, Chippewas, and Menominees. Other investigations have taken up land tenure problems at Bad River, recreation needs in Menominee county, and economic potential among the Menominees. The Peace Corps Training Center at the U.W.-Milwaukee has sent volunteer trainees to various reservations for practical work experience. Art education specialists of the General Extension have aided in the Stockbridge-Munsee arts and crafts enterprise. The Historical Society, headquartered on the University's Madison campus, maintains an extensive collection of Indian artifacts and records. The continuing activities of the Cooperative Extension Service offer day to day work with Indian groups.

Cooperative Extension Service

- **County and home agent in Menominee county.**
- **Special classes for Indian homemakers and guidance to 4-H groups in Indian areas.**
- **Home management demonstration project.**

While farming does not play an important role in Indian economic life, nevertheless, the Cooperative Extension Service has worked for many years with Indian groups, emphasizing homemaking and 4-H activities adapted to Indian requirements. The home economics agent in Sawyer county began a program in 1961 of teaching families to make better use of surplus commodities. In that year, one fifth of the county's total population was receiving welfare aid. It was essential that the families who received surplus foods should know how to use them and therefore be able to improve their nutrition and save what money they had for non-dietary necessities. The agent held over 32 demonstrations for Indian homemakers, showing them various ways to use the commodities given them. New homemaker clubs and a 4-H group were organized as a result of these classes and the sessions have been continued over the years. In 1965, home economics agents also worked in Forest county with the Mole Lake Chippewa and the Stone Lake Potawatomi. In Stone Lake a 4-H club and a homemakers group were organized.

In Menominee county in 1964 the 4-H club began a program well-tailored to present needs. The Menominee young people established a comprehensive guide service for tourists. To prepare the guides, the home economics agent arranged a series of classes on forestry, industry, resources, government, history and culture of the Menominee Indians. The 4-H members had to attend these classes and pass examinations to qualify as guides. The two to three hour tours charted through the Menominee wilderness gave tourists a look at the county not visible from the highways. In addition, the young guides earned money, developed confidence, and gained a deeper understanding of

Photo from Bureau of Indian Affairs

Red Cliff Indian women are shown working in the tribally owned garment factory which was started in 1963. Employment for women in Indian communities is generally lacking in Wisconsin.

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their own heritage. This program will continue in 1966.

Probably the most far-reaching project to be offered by the Cooperative Extension Service is the proposed home management demonstration project through the sponsorship of the Office of Economic Opportunity. This program, to begin in the summer of 1966, was conceived to accompany the $3,000,000 housing allocation for new homes on Wisconsin reservations. Six Indian communities by resolution requested the University Extension Service to undertake a program which would provide education in housing, home management, and environmental improvement. This would cover not only maintenance and care, but nutrition and health, and family financial management. In effect the demonstration program would safeguard the public housing investment. The total budget for the first year is slightly over $200,000. Because the tribal councils asked for the aid and because the Indians themselves will be involved in the teaching program, this new approach could offer hope to hundreds of Indian families throughout Wisconsin.

State Board of Vocational, Technical and Adult Education

- **Provision of vocational training to Indians as to all citizens of the state.**
- **Special scholarship support for Indian vocational trainees.**

The services of the vocational schools in Wisconsin are available to Indians as they are to all residents. However, in September, 1965, the state legislature passed a special bill providing $20 a week to Indian students who enroll in vocational study. This bill reflected the deep concern of the state for the economic future of the Indian young people. While the Bureau of Indian Affairs also offers a program of support for vocational training, the state program is intended as a supplement, especially in view of the fact that Menominee Indians are not eligible for the federal benefits.

Indian youths are presently enrolled in 11 schools of vocational, technical and adult education training. Generally speaking, most attend schools in Antigo, Ashland, Eau Claire, Green Bay, Superior and Madison. With the exception of Madison, the geographic proximity of the school to the reservation is the controlling factor. In the case of Madison, many of the students are from foster homes and are living in the area. Although it is too early to reach conclusions on the value of the legislation, it will probably enable as many as 50 Indian youths to enroll each year in the schools. Students who would otherwise be unable to attend because of insufficient financial resources are now enrolled in courses of mechanical design, secretarial work, business accounting, practical nursing, business machine operation, conservation techniques, keypunch operation and cosmetology.

While the vocational schools under the State Board do not have a formal policy on working with Indian students, they do, however, recognize that the average Indian student is usually disadvantaged because of his environmental background. This means that he may become easily discouraged and more prone to drop out. Staff members are, therefore, diligent in following the progress of the individual Indian student, counseling and working with him in an attempt to stimulate and encourage him to continue and complete his education.

The following is a summary of types of student financial aids controlled by the State Board which are available to Indians:

(1) the already mentioned Indian scholarship program which provides $20 maximum per week to needy Wisconsin residents, one-fourth Indian, 16 years of age or older. They can attend either a public vocational or a private school approved by the Governor's Educational Advisory Commission.

(2) the leadership and needs scholarship program which is open to any first or second year student enrolled in a statewide associate degree or collegiate transfer program in schools of vocational, technical and adult education. These awards are for good students who show evidence of leadership and may go as high as 67 per cent of the financial need of the student as measured by the College Scholarship Service.

(3) the work-study program awards which again are for any state residents. To qualify, the students must be from 15 to 21 years of age, enrolled full-time in vocational schools and in need of financial assistance. They may earn $45 per month and $350 per school year if they live at home, and $60 per month and $500 per school year if they live more than 15 miles from the school. Provision is also made to employ needy students on a full-time basis during the summer.

(4) the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 which is not yet available to Wisconsin's young people because of a constitutional question but is expected to be operational by September 1966. In this program insured loans will be available up to $1,000 per year to any student whose parents earn less than $15,000. The loans are non-interest bearing while the student is in school. Three per cent is charged during the repayment period of three to six years following completion of school. It is limited to vocational students enrolled full-time.

Menominee Indian boy

Menominee Indian girl

Federal Relationships

History of the Changing Status of the Indians Under the Federal Government

From early colonial times until 1871, the British, the colonial and later the United States government looked upon Indian tribes as sovereign nations, to be dealt with by treaty or through the diplomatic service. One of the first acts of the Continental Congress in 1775 was to declare its jurisdiction over Indian tribes by creating three departments of Indian Affairs, a northern, southern and middle department with commissioners at the head of each. The commissioners chosen for the middle department were Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry and James Wilson, an indication of the importance in which the positions were held. In 1824 the Bureau of Indians Affairs was created in the War Department with three employees. Upon the creation of the Department of the Interior in 1849, the Bureau was transferred to it, although with doubt on some sides that a department could minister to the Indians without using force.

From the very beginning there has never been a single lasting policy which the federal government adopted toward the Indians. There has instead been a variety of policies adapted to the times, some initiated by the President, some by the Congress and some by the Bureau of Indian Affairs itself. During the period of the early westward migrations, the Indians were induced by various means to relinquish their lands and move westward; under President Jackson the government relied heavily on the use of the military to accomplish removal of those who did not leave voluntarily. By 1850 the stream of settlers began to bypass the Indians, surrounding and engulfing them. Pushing the Indians in front of the newcomers became impractical and the land holdings of the Indian tribes were reduced to reservations, which according to the commissioner in 1857 "should be restricted so as to contain only sufficient land to afford them a comfortable support by actual cultivation."

Up to the Civil War period, the tribes were considered as quasi-independent nations. However, after the Civil War this policy was replaced with one based on the premise that Indians were objects of national charity and without legal rights, and in 1871 Congress passed an act abandoning treaty making with the Indians. Confined to their reservations the Indians were rapidly becoming almost totally dependent upon the government; a paternalistic relationship was fostered as accepted policy. In 1887 a modification of this approach was taken. The Indian was to be Americanized as rapidly as possible by acquiring the white man's pride in individual ownership. The General Allotment Act was passed which allowed tribes to break up the communally held lands into individual holdings for each member. Only the Menominee Indians voted against this scheme in Wisconsin. In the rest of the reservations, following allotment, Indians inexperienced in land ownership and the meaning of debt, rapidly lost their holdings. At the same time, in accordance with the policy of absorbing the Indians into the American way of life, a new system of education was inaugurated. The Indian child was taken away from his family and sent to boarding school where only English was spoken and where he would receive academic and manual training.

Following World War I the need for a changed policy became evident. In 1924 Congress passed a law conferring full citizenship rights on the Indians. The Indians could now vote and the exclusive relationship with the federal government which had held them back from a normal life as citizens of the state was brought to an end. "The Meriam Report", published by the Institute for Government Research in 1928, was the forerunner of the new Indian policy aimed at the realistic educational and economic program which was shortly to follow. The passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 was hailed as a milestone of progress. The law modified the attempt to Americanize the Indian. The boarding school, exposed by "The Meriam Report" as a national disgrace, was ended. The new act set about protecting tribal life on the reservations through greater self-government by the Indians with diminishing control by the federal government.

Following World War II, this policy led to decentralization of the Indian administration. In Wisconsin the State Departments of Public Welfare and of Public Instruction began to take over welfare aids and education of the children, services which were now provided on the same basis as to all other citizens of the state. In 1953 Congress gave to the states civil and criminal jurisdiction over the reservations and formally established a policy of gradual elimination of federal trusteeship and of the special services provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In accordance with this aim stress was laid on relocation and on industrial employment, at the same time encouraging tribes to improve and expand the management of their own affairs. The bill calling for termination of federal responsibility for the Menominee tribe followed in 1954.

The report of the Task Force on Indian Affairs in 1961 set the stage for current Indian policy. Three longrange goals were proposed: (1) maximum Indian economic self-sufficiency, (2) full participation of Indians in American life, and (3) equal citizenship privileges and responsibilities for Indians. To accomplish these aims, the report called primarily for greater stress on developing the human and natural resources on Indian reservations and decreased emphasis on termination of federal trust and service responsibility for Indians. Today the Bureau of Indian Affairs is pursuing these objectives, emphasizing these developmental programs.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs

Administration

The commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in 1966 an Oneida Indian from Wisconsin, is at the head of the administrative structure. Under him, the area director at Minneapolis has responsibility for administration of Indian affairs in a four state area, Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin. In Wisconsin the agency superintendent in Ashland supervises all the reservations, aided by two agency field offices, in Lac du Flambeau and Lac Courte Oreilles.

Division of Community Services

The most important branch of this division is the employment assistance program. This started originally as a job placement program carried out in cooperation with state and federal employment services. Today it offers on the job training, adult vocational training and a comprehensive program of relocation assistance. Under relocation help is provided to Indian job-seekers and their families including transportation to the relocation destination, subsistence grants prior to the receipt of the first paycheck and practical guidance of several kinds in community adjustment. In Milwaukee, for example, an employment assistance officer is stationed to give everyday help to Indians on vocational and relocation programs.

This division also administers education programs—providing scholarship aid in conjunction with the state of Wisconsin for higher education; advising Indian students who wish to attend one of the special Indian technical schools, such as Haskell in Lawrence, Kansas, or the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico; and sponsoring summer enrichment programs for Indian children on their home reservations. Such a program was offered on the Lac du Flambeau reservation in the summers of 1964 and 1965.

Division of Economic Development

The various branches of this division, working at the local level, have as their common aim Indian self-sufficiency:

- The branch of **industrial development** is responsible for searching out and establishing new or expanded industrial plants on or near reservation areas. This branch works with the Wisconsin Department of Resource Development.
- The branch of **credit** aids individuals or tribal groups on commercial problems relating to credit and business development. For example, this branch was instrumental in securing from the Small Business Administration a loan commitment of $12,000 for the Stockbridge-Munsee arts and crafts project in 1963.
- The branch of **forestry** and land operations works in the planning and development of programs of sustained yield management and protection of Indian forests. Bureau foresters in Wisconsin are located at the Lac du Flambeau and Lac Courte Oreilles reservations and at Wabeno in Forest county to serve the Potawatomi tribe.

- The **realty** branch devotes much of its efforts to problems of Indian land in heirship status, attempting to gain the consent of absent heir-owners to land which present heir-residents would like to put to profitable use. Staff members also work with tribal councils on leasing arrangements and land acquisitions.
- The branch of **roads** maintains approximately 130 miles of reservation roads in Wisconsin, working and cooperating with the State Highway Commission.
- The **tribal operations** branch aids tribes in updating their constitutions and by-laws and assists them in pursuing their claims awards.

Public Health Service

Indian Health Office

The provision of health services to Indians of Wisconsin is the responsibility of the Indian Health Office of the Public Health Service. The regional office for Wisconsin is located in Aberdeen, South Dakota and the area office in Bemidji, Minnesota. A local health officer is stationed on the Lac du Flambeau reservation and a state sanitarian is located at Ashland.

Because Indian communities are relatively small in the state, the Public Health Service contracts with the local counties for public health nursing care and with private physicians for medical care of the Indians. Periodic visits by medical officers from the regional office help to ensure adequate health programs. An individual is eligible for such care if he is regarded as an Indian by the Indian community in which he lives. Tribal membership and residence on tax-exempt land are key factors. Indians who are able to pay the costs of their care are encouraged to do so, but no service is denied an Indian because he is indigent.

The Public Health Service also offers to Wisconsin Indians the services of a public health sanitarian. While the Service is limited in funds, it has been able to help the Lac du Flambeau tribe in the installation of sewer facilities, and one of its current projects is a $54,000 contract for bringing water and plumbing into the homes of the St. Croix Chippewa.

Office of Economic Opportunity

Wisconsin Indians now participate in various programs for the disadvantaged under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. An extensive community action program started in Menominee county in 1965. Ten VISTA workers were assigned to four of the state's reservations, and more are anticipated in 1966. Headstart programs, begun in 1965, are expected to cover all of the reservations in the summer of 1966. In addition, Indian young people have participated in both the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs. Currently, funding is requested of the OEO for two projects of importance to Wisconsin Indians: conduct and administration of the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council and the home management demonstration project in conjunction with the new housing programs on the various reservations.

Public Housing Administration

Recent legislation in the field has made it possible for the various tribes in Wisconsin to qualify for public housing programs. Local reservation housing authorities working with the Bureau of Indian Affairs have secured approval for 90 low income rental units and for 101 mutual help housing units, most of which will begin construction in the spring of 1966. Mutual help housing is a cooperative effort of the PHA and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Under this unique program the Indian participant donates land and labor to the construction of his home. The Public Housing Administration advances construction funds and the Bureau provides project guidance.

Leader Of The Menominees, Chief Oshkosh
(Chief from 1827-1858)

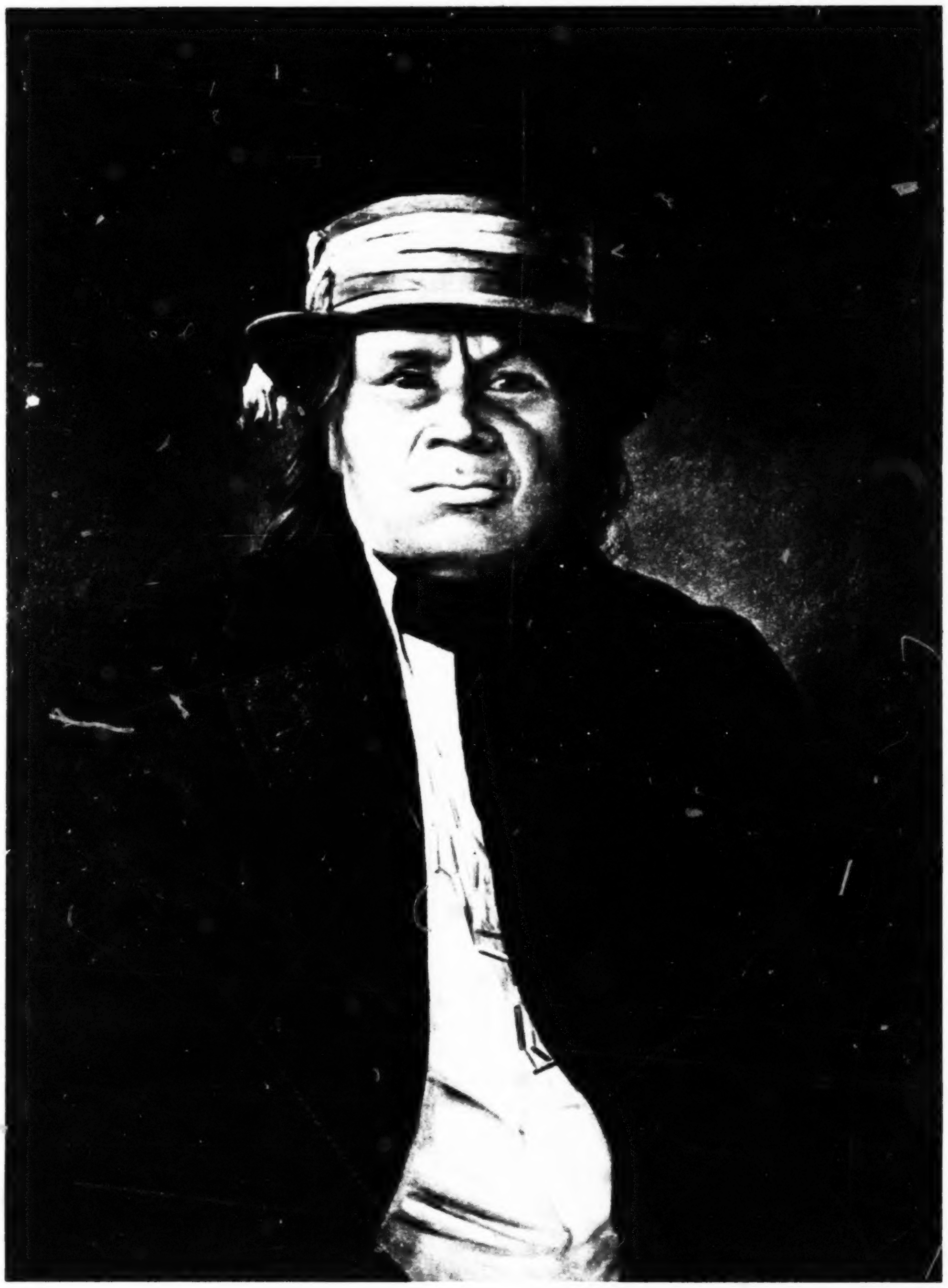

Photo from State Historical Society of Wisconsin

When Chief Oshkosh went to Washington to oppose the removal of the Menominees from Wisconsin, he was given a morning coat and a silk top hat which he wore over his wide Indian face and long braids. Chief Oshkosh smiled at himself when he met government officials and said, "It looks funny on me, doesn't it? That is the way white man's law fits the Indian."

Wisconsin Organizations Working With the Indians

Indian Groups

Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council

The Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council was founded in 1961 and incorporated in 1965. Its purpose, as expressed by the original 53 delegates, is to unite the Wisconsin Indian tribes, to promote their general welfare and to restore to them the dignity of a self-reliant strong people. It was conceived on the premise that it is the Indians themselves who must provide their own leadership and who must lift themselves up by their own bootstraps.

The membership of the council is made up of representatives of the ten tribes in Wisconsin under federal supervision and the Milwaukee Consolidated Tribes of American Indians. Presently supported by a small grant from the Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., the council is requesting a conduct and administration grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Funds would be used for an executive secretary and a full-time coordinator for each of the ten reservations. The council would then be in a position to secure and administer such projects under the OEO as Headstart, Neighborhood Youth Corps and other community action programs. Overall, the council would coordinate and stimulate the resources of the Indian tribes, working with federal, state and local agencies for improvements of educational and economic opportunities.

Wisconsin Indian Youth Council

The Youth Council, organized in May 1962, is composed of high school, college and vocational school Indian students. Its purpose is to encourage Wisconsin Indian youth to complete high school, to become familiar with opportunities for further study and training beyond high school, and help them acquire more knowledge of the past and present situations which affect Indians today. The council aims to help Indian parents realize the importance of an education for their children. It also tries to create a better understanding of the American Indian and his heritage. These purposes are implemented through speaking tours, conferences and the publication of a regular newsletter.

Consolidated Tribes of the American Indians

This Milwaukee organization, founded in the 1920's, is designed to meet the needs of the urban Indian, helping him to adapt to city life and at the same time to find security in the common tribal heritage. Presently there are about 50 active members.

Chippewa Club

The Chippewa Club was organized in Milwaukee in 1960, an offshoot of the Consolidated Tribes, to provide a special cohesiveness to the Chippewa Indians in the city. It is not now holding regular meetings, but leaders are planning to reactivate it in the summer or fall of 1966.

Church Groups

The following listing is not complete. There are obviously many other individual churches and auxiliary groups which work periodically with the Indians. These, however, are the major organizations with known interests.

Wisconsin Council of Churches

In June 1965 the Council sponsored a Wisconsin Indian Consultation in Eau Claire. Representing the major church groups working with Indians in the state, the members attempted a critical evaluation of their present programs and services. The Council maintains its continuing concern with Indian problems through its active Department of Indian Ministry.

The Diocesan Indian Commission

This is the Roman Catholic counter-part of the Department of Indian Ministry. The Commission works for the welfare of all the Indians in the state on a broad ecumenical basis.

Wisconsin Council of Catholic Women

The Indian Welfare Committee of the State Council has worked for over 50 years in the field of Indian problems in Wisconsin. It has been especially active in promoting better health facilities and educational opportunities.

The United Church of Christ—Wisconsin Conference

The United Chuch of Christ has had a long history of work with the Wisconsin Winnebago Indians. The Indian Mission near Black River Falls consists of a comprehensive parish program to a widely scattered congregation of Winnebagos. The Mission is located in the midst of the largest settlement of Winnebagos in the state. The pastor, a Winnebago Indian, is chairman of the Winnebago business committee. Financial support is provided by money allocated from denominational benevolent funds. The United Church also operates the Winnebago Children's Home at Neillsville which formerly was a boarding home for Indian children. Since 1957 the home has offered a treatment and rehabilitation program to Indians and non-Indians alike who are adjudged dependent, neglected or emotionally disturbed.

The Lutheran Church in America—Wisconsin

The First English Lutheran Church at Wisconsin Rapids serves a Winnebago-Potawatomi community of approximately 225 Indians. Their monthly publication, *The Swift Arrow,* is an all-Indian newsletter, covering not only the immediate news among the members, but presenting as nearly as possible a picture of the wide range of activities affecting all Wisconsin Indians. The church program works to break down the barriers of prejudice, to build up confidence and trust among the Indians, and to help in spiritual, social and economic concerns.

The Presbyterian Synod of Wisconsin

The Synod works in Lac du Flambeau and in Lac Courte Oreilles at the Whitefish Indian Mission. Emphasis is given to a total ministry covering the wide range of Indian needs.

The Wisconsin State Baptist Convention

The Convention supports a small church at the Wisconsin Dells, known as the Indian Baptist Church. Most of the approximately 65 members are Winnebago Indians, who use the church as a meeting place for their tribal activities. A homemakers' club is included in the special programs offered.

The Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Church

The Methodist Church at Oneida has 290 members of whom three-fourths are Oneidas. The church works in the field of spiritual and social welfare, offering a special program of inter-city work with Indians who live in Milwaukee. The Methodist Chuch at Odanah on the Bad River reservation has a small congregation of 36 members. There the parish program includes a comprehensive goal of working with the Indians, especially aiming to develop leadership.

The Episcopal Church—Wisconsin

The Episcopal Mission at the Oneida reservation is the oldest mission in Wisconsin, founded in 1702. The church recently donated 25 acres of land to the tribe for the site of new houses to be built under the aegis of the Oneida Housing Authority.

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Chuch has had missions and parochial schools among the Chippewa and Menominee Indians for many years. There are active parishes in Menominee county and at the Bad River, Lac du Flambeau, Lac Courte Oreilles and Red Cliff reservations. In each of these instances the priests provide social service through counseling over and beyond the normal religious service given to the Indian population. At Bad River and Lac Courte Oreilles elementary schools are maintained.

Other Organizations

The following is only a partial listing.

The Wisconsin Indian Summer Project began in 1962 when a group of students from Harvard and Radcliffe volunteered to work with the young people on Wisconsin Indian reservations. It has since been expanded to include students from colleges and universities in Wisconsin. Summer programs were conducted at Bad River and Lac Courte Oreilles in 1963, at Oneida, Red Cliff and the Winnebago Indian Mission at Black River Falls in 1964 and at Mole Lake, Oneida, Wittenberg, Neillsville and Menominee county in 1965. The Division of Children and Youth, Community Services Section, has been instrumental in promoting the Wisconsin Indian Summer Project.

The Wisconsin Indian Research Institute. This institute, organized in 1964 at the Wisconsin State University at Oshkosh, is dedicated to anthropological investigations of the indigenous Indian cultures of Wisconsin, past and present. Not only does it serve as an educational medium, but it is a center for research and study to preserve the Indian heritage of the state.

The YMCA of the University of Wisconsin offers a program to students from Menominee county, inviting them for visits to the Madison campus with the aim of encouraging them to work toward the must useful education possible.

The League of Women Voters of Wisconsin has followed Indian affairs closely for a number of years. *The Termination Problems of the Menominee Indians* was published in March of 1959. The Appleton League of Women Voters made a comprehensive study of the Oneida Indians in 1956, revising it in 1965.

The Citizens Natural Resources Association is one of the numerous conservation organizations in the state interested in preserving the natural resources of Menominee county.

Friends of the Menominees, a group of interested citizens in Wausau, offers welfare and educational aid to residents of Menominee county.

Indian Commentary

"To assimilate the Indians is very different from an assimilation of European immigrants in America with which it is often loosely compared. The immigrant has made a choice and may prefer our institutions; the Indians, a conquered people, have had no choice. Moreover, while immigrants become assimilated, the cultures they relinquish live on in their native lands. American Indians on the other hand are the only carriers of their traditions. When they become totally assimilated the Indian way will disappear from the face of the earth." (Arvid Miller, in a speech to the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Conference, Eau Claire, November 8, 1962.)

> *"You have to get into things yourself if you want to help your Indians. Lots of times our troubles are our own fault. We slack down. You have to be on the alert to see those needs, and to try to get programs worked out." (Mrs. Irene Moore, tribal chairman of the Oneida Indians, 1963–65, in an interview in the* MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, *August 25, 1963.)*

"When the Corps (the Neighborhood Youth Corps) was formed the people were very leary and skeptical of what is stood for and what it wished to accomplish. There were jobs offered and taken up with little enthusiasm as was the nature of adolescents of the county. The Corps has steadily gained more and more support and harder work and effort than when they started. It gives them a sense of responsibility and pride in what they can accomplish, for they now have their earnings to show that they can work and be successful without the characteristics that they have displayed so often. For before the young never really had a chance of living in the county, it was just a continual life of idleness and bewilderment." (Written by an enrollee as a nine months' progress report on the Menominee county Neighborhood Youth Corps, April 1966.)

> *"We in Menominee county have learned to place our hope on those who report to work every day and on Saturday and when asked. They are the real hope. They are the leaders." (George Kenote, in a speech at the Indian Leadership Conference, Eau Claire, June 13, 1963.)*

"We are the only people that the American melting pot cannot melt. We are the only ones in the American nation who did not come here to escape. And, although we have been beaten down time and again, we cannot be beaten forever. America is a rootless nation of immigrants, it cannot be a whole nation unless we are a real, but separate, part of it, because we are the original Americans... American history should be our history. It belongs to no other." (Mel Thom, President, National Indian Youth Council, in a speech to the Accent on Youth, Indian Leadership Conference, Eau Claire, June 11, 1964.)

"Some of us try to keep some of our craft customs alive. But we are traveling down a fading trail and only too soon will find that the beauty of the real Indian craft will be forgotten. Too much of the white man's ways has been crowded into our lives." (Mrs. Joe Vetternack, Lac du Flambeau Chippewa, in an interview in the MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, *March 2, 1958.)*

"We do not want to be 15th century story book Indians. We want to take our place in society. We want our children to benefit from the culture of Americans. But we also want to contribute to American culture as the European minority groups contribute their culture. We want our children to be actual, not just legal, Indians." (Frank G. Smart, Lac du Flambeau Chippewa, in an interview in the *Milwaukee Journal,* February 23, 1958.)

Wisconsin Statutes Pertaining To Indians

Included here are the more important statutes pertaining to the Indians of Wisconsin.

VOTING

Residents on Indian lands, where to vote. Section 5. All persons residing upon Indian lands, within any county of the state, and qualified to exercise the right of suffrage, under this constitution, shall be entitled to vote at the polls which may be held nearest their residence, for state, United States or county officers. Provided, that no person shall vote for county officers out of the county in which he resides.
—WISCONSIN CONSTITUTION, Article XIII

INDIAN RIGHTS DAY

256.175 *Indian Rights Day.* July 4 is designated as "Indian Rights Day," and in conjunction with the celebration of Independence Day, appropriate exercises or celebrations may be held in commemoration of the granting by Congress of home rule and a bill of rights to the American Indians. When July 4 falls on Sunday, exercises or celebrations of Indian Rights Day may be held on either the third or the fifth.
LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: Created by Chap. 97, Laws of 1957
(Day originally designated by Chap. 277, Laws of 1935)

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

49.046 *Relief to needy Indians..* From the appropriation made in s. 20.670 (16) and (56) the department may grant relief to needy Indians not eligible for aid under ss. 49.18, 49.19, 49.20 to 49.38, 49.40 or 49.61 and residing on tax-free lands or may appoint the welfare agency in the county or municipality wherein such needy Indians reside to administer such relief. Any such agency so appointed shall make such reports as are required and such accounting for funds as are made available under this section. The department shall adopt and publish suitable rules and regulations governing eligibility for the amount of and the furnishing and paying of relief under this section. The department may enter into suitable agreements with any appropriate agency of the federal government for provision of relief to needy Indians.
LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: Created by Chap. 484, Laws of 1951

LAW ENFORCEMENT

20.180 (d) *Aid to counties for law enforcement.* The amounts in the schedule for distribution to counties containing tax-exempt Indian reservations, to defray the expense of performing additional law enforcement duties of sheriffs arising by reason of federal legislation removing governmental controls over Indians. Distribution shall be made from this appropriation to such counties on the basis of $2,500 per county annually. Aid shall be released to any such county from this appropriation only upon application therefor by its board of supervisors to the attorney general showing that a problem exists under this paragraph in such county and certification thereof by the attorney general.
LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: Created by Chap. 556, Laws of 1955
[Originally numbered 20.08 (8). This portion of the statutes is included in the budget and is recreated in each legislative session. The above wording is from Chap. 163, Laws of 1965.]

GOVERNOR'S INTERSTATE INDIAN COUNCIL

14.75 (4) A committee of 2, one an Indian, shall be appointed by the governor for such term as may be fixed by him, to represent the state on the governor's interstate Indian council. The members of the committee shall serve without compensation, except that they shall be paid their actual and necessary expenses from the appropriation made by s. 20.470(1), on vouchers approved by the governor. The committee shall:

(a) Attend meetings of the council;

(b) Assist in developing a program for the readjustment of Indian affairs which will be more in keeping with the present-day needs of the Indian;

(c) Assist in accomplishing the social and economic rehabilitation of Indians with emphasis upon the initiative and self-reliance of the Indian himself:

(d) Assist in equipping Indians for living with and in our American culture through education and training;

(e) Assist in encouraging Indians to preserve, as individuals, their best traditions and mores as an integral part of American life;

(f) Assist in bringing an early end to federal wardship, with adequate federal aid in the interim; and

(g) Join with representatives of other states having substantial Indian populations and in cooperation with the federal government, in finding a solution to Indian problems.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: Created by Chap. 323, Laws of 1963

INDIAN SCHOLARSHIPS

39.022 *Indian scholarships.* The state superintendent may award scholarships to any Indian student resident of the state to help defray the costs of tuition, incidental fees, room and board while attending any accredited degree-granting college located in and financed by the state of Wisconsin.

(1) The state superintendent shall set standards to determine the amount to be granted. The grant to any one student shall not exceed $900 in any one academic year. No student shall be eligible for a second or subsequent scholarship unless he has completed the prior year's work satisfactorily, and no student shall be eligible for more than 4 years. The moneys shall be paid to the college upon the certificate of the state superintendent. If the course of study is less than 36 weeks per year, the scholarship shall be prorated.

(2) An eligible Indian student is:

(a) Any student who has one-fourth or more Indian blood; and

(b) Is a resident of Wisconsin: and

(c) Has the capacity to profit from appropriate college work; and

(d) Has completed high school in the upper two-thirds of his class.

20.650 *Public instruction.*

(2) (am). A sum sufficient for the payment of Indian scholarships as provided in s. 39.022.

Section 2. The amount in the schedule for the appropriation under section 20.650 (2) (am) of the statutes shall be identified by the letter "S".

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: Created by Chap. 450, Laws of 1957
Amended by Chap. 545, Laws of 1963
Chap. 285, Laws of 1965

TECHNICAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIANS

41.13 (10) The state board (*) shall establish rules and standards governing a scholarship program for needy Indians and may grant such scholarships to eligible persons for study at such schools as the state board determines. No such scholarship to any individual shall exceed $20 weekly.

(*) State Board of Vocational, Technical & Adult Education

20.850(8) TECHNICAL TRAINING SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIANS. Annually, beginning July 1, 1965, $30,000 for technical training scholarships for Indians, established under c. 41.13 (10).

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: Created by Chap. 287, Laws of 1965

MENOMINEE INDIAN STUDY COMMITTEE

13.352 *Committee on Menominee Indians.* (1) CREATION. The committee established by joint resolution No. 72,A. of 1955 to study the problems and develop specific recommendations and legislative proposals relating to the transition of the Menominee Indians from federal to state and local control is hereby continued as a committee of the legislative council.

(2) COMPOSITION. The Committee shall be composed of the following:

(a) Three members to be named by the Menominee Indian tribe.

(b) Two members, one each from Oconto and Shawano counties, to be named by the county boards of those counties.

(c) Eight members representing the following state departments, such members to be the department head or a representative named by him:

1. The department of taxation;
2. The attorney general;
3. The state department of public welfare;
4. The state superintendent of public instruction;
5. The highway commission;
6. The conservation commission;
7. The state board of health;
8. The governor's commission on human rights.

(d) Three legislators, one senator and 2 assemblymen, to be named by the legislative council.

(3) INCUMBENT TO SERVE. The members appointed pursuant to joint resolutions No. 72,A. and 119,A. of 1955 shall continue to serve.

(4) COMPENSATION. The expenses incurred in attending meetings of the committee shall be paid as follows:

(a) The tribe shall pay the expenses of the tribal representatives. The legislative council may pay expenses incurred by tribal representatives after March 1, 1963, in performing their functions on the committee from funds under the administration of the legislative council.

(b) The counties shall pay the expenses of the county board representatives.

(c) The state departments shall pay the expenses of their representatives.

(d) The legislative council shall pay the expenses of the legislative representatives.

(5) DUTIES. The committee shall study the problems created by the transfer of controls of the Menominee Indian tribe from federal to state and local control in such fields as taxation, public welfare, education, highways, law enforcement and the adjustments required in the statutes to implement such transfer.

(6) REPORT. The committee shall report from time to time to the legislative council in accordance with the time schedule made possible by the action of congress.

(7) CO-OPERATION. The committee is directed to co-operate with the secretary of interior and the several state departments in formulating plans for the future control of tribal property.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: Created by Chap. 464, Laws of 1957
Amended by Chap. 522, Laws of 1963
Chap. 163, Laws of 1965

MENOMINEE COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY

59.475 *Shawano county district attorney for Menominee county.* Menomineee county shall be attached to Shawano county for judicial purposes to the extent of the office and function of the district attorney, and the district attorney of Shawano county shall serve as the district attorney for Menominee county with all the duties, rights and powers of the district attorney therein, and no district attorney shall be elected in Menominee county, the county not being organized for that purpose. The county board of Menominee county may, however, employ a corporation counsel as provided in s. 59.07 (44) and said district attorney's powers and duties in Menominee county shall cease to the extent they are conferred upon the corporation counsel. The county boards of Menominee county and Shawano county shall enter into an agreement on administration of this section and the prorating of expenditure involved, and for such purposes the county board of supervisors of Menominee county shall be authorized to appropriate, levy and collect a sum each year sufficient to pay its share of such expenses. If the 2 county boards are unable to agree on the prorating of expenditure involved, then the judge of the circuit court for the Tenth Circuit shall, upon appropriate notice and hearing, determine the prorating of such expenditures on the basis of a fair allocation to each county under such procedures as he shall prescribe.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: Created by Chap. 259, Laws of 1959

MENOMINEE TRIBAL SECURITIES

231.45 *Menominee Indian tribe corporation securities, alienation restrained.* The articles, bylaws or regulations of any corporation or organization, incorporated or organized under the laws of this state by or at the direction of members of the Menominee Indian tribe, to which property may be transferred by the United States or any agency thereof, as provided by section 8, P.L. 83-399, as amended, may provide for the absolute restraint on alienation for a period not to exceed 10 years of any bonds, stocks, certificate of interest, voting trust certificate or other security issued by such corporation or organization. No such restraint shall prohibit the transfer by will or operation of law upon the death of the owner of any such security, but may provide for an option to the corporation upon such transfer. Any option in such corporation to purchase any of such securities from the holder thereof, which such corporation has but fails to exercise, shall be assigned by such corporation to the state of Wisconsin, and may be exercised by the state of Wisconsin investment board according to the terms thereof.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: Created by Chap. 259, Laws of 1959
Amended by Chap. 156, Laws of 1965

Conclusion—The Future

In the 15 years since the Governor's Commission on Human Rights first began its study of conditions among Wisconsin Indians, the state has enacted many of the original recommendations made by the Commission in its 1952 *Handbook*. The Commission called for state civil and criminal jurisdiction over the reservations; Public Law 280 gave this responsibility to Wisconsin in 1953. The Commission proposed ending the discriminatory liquor laws aimed against Indians; the 83rd Congress passed this legislation. The Commission pointed to the inadequacy of Indian health service; this responsibility was given to the Public Health Service in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and medical and nursing needs are now handled on a more effective basis, although Indian health has not yet reached acceptable standards. The Commission recommended that the Bureau of Indian Affairs aid the Indians on a wide economic front, giving specific attention to forest management and logging operations and general help on job opportunities and vocational training. The Bureau has taken steps in these directions, but in this area unfortunately, help has not been commensurate with the need.

From this 1966 study, it is apparent that while progress has been made in Indian affairs, the problems still confronting the Indians are of a frightening magnitude. "That the Indians remain at the bottom of the economic ladder, have the highest rate of unemployment, live in the poorest housing, and suffer chronic poverty, is a clear indictment of past programs and policies pursued by the Bureau of Indian Affairs." At its hearing in April 1966, the U.S. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs ascribed full responsibility to federal bureaucratic entanglements. The Committee continued:

> "It is the Bureau's function to raise the educational and social wellbeing of the Indians, assist in developing their assets, and encourage them to handle their own individual and tribal affairs so that they may all eventually become self-sufficient citizens of our American society. Once that is achieved, special services should be discontinued."

Such recognition of past failures at the federal level accompanied by a well defined goal for the future, calls for a concomitant response from the state. Wisconsin has already assumed leadership among the states in granting to her Indian residents equal treatment as full citizens regardless of their land or wardship status. Annually Wisconsin has devoted many of her vast resources to helping the Indians. The financial commitment has been high; the determined involvement will be enduring. The vacuum of federal failure has been filled with responsive aid. Now a partnership can begin to meet the needs of both reservation and non-reservation Indians, providing for intelligent investment in human potential, and resulting in a life of economic sufficiency and social dignity.

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